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THE LIFE

OF

(John) Conrad Weiser,

THE

GERMAN PIONEER, PATRIOT,

AND

Patron of Two Races.

BY

C. Z. WEISER, D. D.

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TO THE

LOYAL DESCENDANTS

OF

THE GERMAN FOREFATHERS,

Who are unwilling, either to surrender their honorable
Birthright for a "Mess of Pottage," or, to obey
the bidding of a modern Syren, to acquire
a false and foreign one, through the
hand of Esau, whilst "the voice is
still the voice of Jacob;"
But would rather retain, ennoble, and magnify their own,
as an efficient Factor in our National Life—

THIS VOLUME

IS

PROUDLY DEDICATED

BY

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

There is no apology needed for writing the life of Conrad Weiser, if the opinions and wishes of knowing men carry with themselves any meaning or force. On the 13th day of November, 1793, General George Washington, accompanied by General Joseph Hiester and other dintinguished men, stood at the grave of Conrad Weiser, and said: "This departed man rendered many services to his country, in a difficult period, *and posterity will not forget him.*" Richard Peters, Secretary of the Province of Pennsylvania, wrote already in 1761:— "Since 1744 he has acted a prominent part between the Indians and the Government, by whom his loss will be severely felt. A faithful sketch of him by some of his descendants would be exceedingly interesting." Samuel Hazard, compiler and editor of "Pennsylvania Archives" and "Colonial Records," is careful to preserve the above remarks in his valuable collections. Thomas H. Burrows says: "On many occasions he was of the greatest service to the Province, by his influence with the Indians." Franz Loeher, author of "The History and Fortunes of the Germans in America," speaks of his significance in these words: "One man, whose name figures so largely in the original records and events of his day, deserves special mention." Prof. I. Daniel Rupp, the

antiquarian and dweller among the *Manes*, has frequently revived his name in his numerous writings. Geo. F. Baer, Esq., of the Reading Bar, remarks in his Address, delivered at the dedication of the new wing of Palatinate College, Myerstown, Pa., Dec. 23, 1875, on the "Pennsylvania Germans": "Then, too, the name and fame of Conrad Weiser, the great Indian Interpreter and peacemaker, will be rescued from comparative obscurity, and he will be given the high rank and place in history which he so faithfully earned and so richly merits."

No student of our Colonial era need be told of the prominence of the man and his works. The wonder is, not that the links which compose his long and eventful history, should now be united in a chain; but that this service had not been done for him long ago.

The "Life of Conrad Weiser" is not a manufactured one. It is not invented, imagined or made up. It is no "baseless fabric of an airy vision"—no Hiawathian structure of poetical art—no arraying of an Enoch-Arden skeleton in fictitious flesh and blood; but the simple record of his life, as we find it enshrined in the facts, events and deeds of a long, steady, unostentatious and efficient course. It is but a reprint of an Autobiographical Journal, of parts of the Pennsylvania Archives, Colonial Records, the Hallische Nachrichter, the numerous Monographs of I. D. Rupp, and a gathering up of the floating traditions among his descendants, both in

Pennsylvania and Wurtemberg. It is a presentation of the man, so far as this may be done, from his remains. The *manner* of its execution we must leave to the judgment of others. Were it but half as ably done as it was willingly done, then the work would verily be equal to the occasion. As it is, we can only pray the reviewer's kindness to take the hearty will for the imperfect deed. To the disappointed "descendant" of Conrad Weiser we feel like saying, "Go thou and do—better!"

C. Z. WEISER.

New Goshenhoppen, Pennsburg, Pa.,
Centennial Year, May.

CONTENTS.

Introduction—The Indigenes, Page 1

CHAPTER I.

Conrad Weiser's Remote Ancestry and Native Place, 9

CHAPTER II.

Conrad Weiser's Parents—His Father and Mother, 12

CHAPTER III.

The Exodus of Conrad Weiser's Father, 15

CHAPTER IV.

Conrad's Father Chief of the Colony at Livingstone Manor, 19

CHAPTER V.

Conrad's Father Chief of the Colony at Schoharie, 22

CHAPTER VI.

Conrad Weiser's Father the Defender of the Rights and Liberties of his Countrymen at Schoharie, 24

CHAPTER VII.

Conrad's Father Leads a Colony to Tulpehocken, Pennsylvania—His Return and Wandering—His Visit to Tulpehocken—His Death, 28

CHAPTER VIII.

John Conrad Weiser, Junior—His Name Birth-Place—Baptism, 31

CHAPTER IX.

Conrad's Arrival in America—His Stay with the Maqua Indians, 35

CHAPTER X.

Conrad Weiser and His Step-Mother, 39

CHAPTER XI.

Conrad Weiser's Brothers and Sisters—His Occupation—His Marriage—His Departure for Pennsylvania, 43

CHAPTER XII.

Conrad Weiser's Advent in Pennsylvania—The Beginning of his Official History, 49

CHAPTER XIII.

Conrad Weiser, Provincial Interpreter—Justice of the Peace 1732-1743, 53

CHAPTER XIV.

Ten More Years of Indian Intercourse—Missions and Duties—1744-1754, 63

CHAPTER XV.

The French and Indian War—Conrad Weiser, Superintendent of the Indian Bureau—Colonel—His Death Officially Announced—1754-1760, 78

CHAPTER XVI.

Conrad Weiser's Failing Health—His Death—His Burial-Place, 89

CHAPTER XVII.

Conrad Weiser as a Religious Character, 93

CHAPTER XVIII.

Conrad Weiser's Will—His Possessions—His Sons and Daughters—His Posterity, 100

CHAPTER XIX.

Summary and Conclusion, 115

CONRAD WEISER'S LETTERS.

No. 1—Letter to R. Peters, April 26, 1744, 125
No. 2—Letter to James Logan, Sept. 29, 1744, 127
No. 3—Letter to Secretary Peters, Jan. 2, 1745, 129
No. 4—Letter to Secretary Peters, Feb. 10, 1745, 131
No. 5—Letter to R. Peters, Feb. 11, 1745, 134
No. 6—Letter to R. Peters, Feb. 28, 1745, 134
No. 7—Letter to a Friend, 1746, 135
No. 8—Letter to R. Peters, June 15, 1747, 143
No. 9—Letter to R. Peters, June 21, 1747, 144
No. 10—Letter to Secretary Peters, July 6, 1747, 147
No. 11—Letter to R. Peters, July 14, 1747, 149
No. 12—Letter to R. Peters, July 20, 1747, 150
No. 13—Letter to R. Peters, Sept. 27, 1747, 154
No. 14—Letter to R. Peters, Oct. 15, 1747, 155
No. 15—Letter to R. Peters, Nov. 28, 1747, 159
No. 16—Letter to R. Peters, March 28, 1748, 162
No. 17—Letter to R. Peters, July 10, 1748, 163
No. 18—Letter to R. Peters, July 14, 1748, 165
No. 19—Letter to R. Peters, July 17, 1748, 166
No. 20—Letter to R. Peters, Aug. 4, 1748, 167
No. 21—Letter to R. Peters, Aug. 15, 1748, 169
No. 22—Letter to Gov. Hamilton, April 22, 1749, 171
No. 23—Letter to Gov. Hamilton, May 4, 1750, 173
No. 24—Letter to R. Peters, Sept. 30, 1750, 175
No. 25—Letter to Gov. Hamilton, April 22, 1751, 176
No. 26—Letter to Gov. Hamilton, May 2, 1754, 178
No. 27—Letter to Gov. Hamilton, Sept. 13, 1754, 181

No. 28—Extract from Conrad Weiser's Letters, Oct. 16th and 26th, 1754, 184
No. 29—Letter to Col. Johnson, Jan 23, 1755, 186
No. 30 - Letter to Gov. Morris, March 1, 1755, 187
No. 31—Letter to R. Peters, May 19, 1755, 190
No. 32 - Letter to Gov. Morris, June 12, 1755, 192
No. 33—Letter to Gov. Morris, July 9, 1755, 195
No. 34—Letter to Gov. Morris, July 21, 1755, 196
No. 35—Letter to Gov. Morris, Sept. 12, 1755, 197
No. 36—Letter to Gov. Morris, Oct. 4, 1755, 201
No. 37—Letter to Gov. Morris, Oct. 22, 1755, 203
No. 38 - Letter to Gov. Morris, Oct. 26, 1755, 204
No. 39—Letter to James Read, Oct. 26, 1755, 205
No. 40—Letter to Gov. Morris, Oct. 30, 1755, 207
No. 41—Letter to Wm. Allen, Oct. 30, 1755, 212
No. 42 Letter to Gov. Morris, Nov. 2, 1755, 213
No. 43 - Letter to Gov. Morris, Nov. 7, 1755, 215
No. 44—Letter to Gov. Morris, Nov. 19, 1755, 215
No. 45—Letter to Gov. Morris, Nov. 19, 1755, 218
No. 46—Letter to Gov. Morris, 1755, 221
No. 47—Letter to Gov. Morris, Dec. 13, 1755, 223
No. 48--Letter to Gov. Morris, Dec. 22, 1755, 225
No. 49—Letter to Gov. Morris, April 17, 1756, 227
No. 50—Letter to Gov. Morris, July 11, 1756, 228
No. 51—Letter of C. Weiser and Wm. Parsons to Gov. Denny, Nov. 6, 1756, 232
No. 52—Letter to R. Peters, Dec. 31, 1756, 233
No. 53—Letter to R. Peters, July 15, 1757, 234
No. 54—Letter to Gov. Denny, July 18, 1757, 235
No. 55—Letter to Gov. Denny, Oct. 1, 1757, 237
No. 56—Letter to R. Peters, Oct. 4, 1757, 238
No. 57—Letter to Gov. Denny, Oct. 16, 1757, 239
No. 58--Letter to W. Peters, Oct. 27, 1757, 241
No. 59—Letter to Gov. Denny, Oct 27, 1757, 242
No. 60—Letter to R. Peters, June 21, 1758, 245
No. 61—Letter to R. Peters, July 6, 1758, 246
No. 62—Letter to R. Peters, July 29, 1758, 247
No. 63—Letter to R. Peters, Jan. 18, 1759, 247
No. 64—Letter to Capt. Trump, 1760, 248
No. 65—Letter to Gov. Hamilton, Feb. 18, 1760, 249

Conrad Weiser's Journals.

No. 1—Report of his Journey to Shamokin, 1742, 251
No. 2—Report of his Second Journey to Shamokin, 1743, 261
No. 3—Report of his Journey to Onondago, 1743, 267
No. 4—Report of his Third Journey to Shamokin, 1744, 283
No. 5—Extract of his Journey to Onondago, 1745, 292
No. 6—Report of his Journey to Ohio, 1748, 300
No. 7—Report of his Journey to Onondago, 1750, 318
No. 8—Report of his Journey to Onondago, 1751, 335
No. 9—His Journey to the Mohawk Country, 1753, 339
No. 10—Journal of his Proceedings at Aucquick, 1754, 348
No. 11—Journal of Proceedings to John Harris' Ferry, 1756, 364
No. 12—Extract from a Journal at Easton, 1756, 367
No. 13—Journal of Proceedings at Fort Allen, 1756, 369

Memoranda.

No. 1—Conrad Weiser's Colonel Commission, 1759, 375
No. 2—Deposition of C. Weiser and T. McKee Respecting Conference at Easton, 1757, 376
No. 3—Extract from Conrad Weiser's Journal to Ohio, 1748, 378
No. 4—Memorandum of Wampum, 1748, 379
No. 5—Memorandum of Transactions With Indians at Reading, 1757, 380
No. 6—Account of Expenses of Conrad Weiser to and from Fort Augusta, per Son Samuel, 1760, 385
No. 7—Memorandum of Conrad Weiser Respecting Indians, 1756, 386
No. 8 Conrad Weiser's Memorandum of Conference at Easton, 1757, 387
No. 9—Memorandum of Conrad Weiser, June 13, 1748, 388

Addenda.

No. 1—Names of Early Settlers of Berks and Montgomery Counties (Originally Philadelphia County), who were Naturalized January 9, 1729, to 1730, 393
No. 2—Names and Ages of the Heads of Families Remaining in the City of New York, 1710, 395
No. 3—Names and Ages of Male Children Apprenticed by Governor Hunter, 1710 to 1714, 397
No. 4—Names of Male Palatines, Above Twenty-One Years Old, in Livingstone Manor, N. Y., in the Winter 1710, and Summer 1711, 398
No. 5—Einweihungs-Lied, 401
No. 6—The German Patriots and Martyrs, 404
Our People in American History—Oration by Hon. Daniel Ermentrout, 1876, 408
No. 7—An Authentic Autobiography of Conrad Weiser, 440

INTRODUCTION.

The Indigenes.

The sources and means by which the New World was originally peopled has ever been a mystery. And who shall solve the riddle for us? No wonder that the unbelievers of the last and present century should have taken the shorter and very handy method to solve the problem, by asserting that America had its own spontaneous and independent people—*Indigenes.*

The numberless hypotheses and theories touching the American Aborigines show but too plainly the darkness of the theme. Campomanes patronized the claims of the Carthagenians. Kircher and Huet speak for the Egyptians. De Guignes favors the Huns. Sir William Jones brings India forward. George De Hornn enumerates the Scythians, Phoenicians and Carthagenians. Gregoria Garcia leads the Mexicans, Peruvians and others forth as proofs that *different* nations contributed towards the original population. De Acasta makes the road to have been by the North of Asia and Europe, or by the Straits of Magellan. John De Laet peoples America originally by the Scythians and Tartars. Grotius brings the Norwegians over, first and foremost, by way of Greenland. De Moraez pronounces in favor of the Carthagenians and Israelites. Charlevoix looks upon Tartary and Hyrcania as aboriginal fountains. Lewis and Clarke are of the opinion that America received its first inhabitants from Tartary, China, Japan or Kam-

schatka, since these people resemble each other in color, shape and features. "We make no doubt," say they, "that in some future time, and that not a very distant one, it will be reduced to a certainty that during some of the wars between the Tartars and the Chinese, a part of the inhabitants of the northern provinces were driven from their native country and took refuge in some of the Isles, and from there found their way to America." They say, too, that whilst the Chinese call a slave "shungo," the Indians term a dog "shungush"; that whilst the former call tea "shousan," the latter style tobacco "shousasan," and that the Indians retain the syllables *che, cha, chu,* in imitation of the Chinese dialects. James Adair, Esq., who spent forty years among the Indians, declares the American Aborigines to have descended from the Israelites. In this opinion Conrad Weiser joins him. A comparison of their mutual religious rites, civil and martial customs, marriages, ceremonies, manners, languages and traditions confirms them in this view. They detail these correspondences under separate heads, such as—their tribal state under separate Chiefs; the similarity between "Jehovah" and "Yohewah"; their theocratic form of government; their belief in angels and good spirits; the likeness between the Indian dialects and the Hebrew language; their orders of prophets, priests, festivals and religious rites and purifications, and their like fondness for ornaments and decorations.

But, alas! the distinguishing rite of the Jewish people is wanting—*the rite of circumcision.*

Certain writers claim that America and Asia once joined about the region of Kamschatka, and that the

first people came by that part. And time would fail me to record all the guesses in this direction. Still all these endeavors have fruited in something positive. The *key*, by which alone this mystery can be solved, has been found. *The basis of language* is that key. The proper adjusting of it now constitutes the task for philologists, who are solely competent to work at the problem. The lexical school is hard at it, too, and will sooner or later furnish the answer. Striking similarities have already been traced, in the etymological sphere, between the Indian dialects and the Martchon, Tongouse, Mongel, Samoyed, Celtic, Tchoud, Biscayan, Coptic and Congo Languages. Malte Brun establishes a geographical connection between the American and Asiatic languages. He concludes that the Finnist, Ostiack, Peruvian and Caucassian families spread themselves along the frozen ocean, over Behring's straits, towards Greenland and Chili; that others, allied to the Japanese, Chinese and Kourilians, penetrated to Mexico, and that the Malays, Javenese and some African tribes may have borne a part hither, as well.

However America may have been settled, then, in the beginning, and from whatever several centres apparently, the general structure pervading all the Indian dialects has left no room to doubt that they all engraft themselves on one individual family. The peculiar manner of forming their congregation of verbs from one extremity of linguistic America to the other, favors the hypothesis of a primitive people or common stock. There is a divergence, indeed; but a divergence from a common centre. There is a multiplicity of tribe, it is true; but ill-disposed persons are too hasty in reasoning

from this fact to the conclusion of a number of original and independent sources. The tribes ally naturally into nations—e. g., The Four Nations—The Five Nations—The Six Nations. The Lenni Lenape, or Delaware Indians, style themselves "The Original People," and embrace some forty branches. The Iroquois divide into a like number of tribes. No well-founded Indian tradition claims more than twelve original tribes. This duodecimal people the philologist will gradually trace back to one common source, even as the Israelites are all gathered up in the loins of Jacob. Heckerwelder already seemed to see that all the Indian dialects branched from but *four* principal languages. The discoveries made by the lexical or grammatical schools, taken with the traditional facts which spread all over Indian history, already point to Eastern Asia, Thibet, Tartary, Japan, China. The systems of chronology, the monumental plans, the religious theories and practices—all these are too analogous to be considered as purely accidental coincidences. Even a comparison of the Zodiac, between the Thibetans, Monguls and Japanese on the one side, and the American Indians on the other, ought to satisfy the most incredulous. The signs, such as the tiger, hare, serpent, ape, dog and bird, are identical. The common theories of man's early history, of the flood and of the dispersion, these argue a common origin.

That the American Indians are not the Indigenes of this Continent, is at once patent to any student of archæology. Not savages, but sages rather, commenced the line of human history here. American antiquities prove the existence of pre-historic races. The Mississippi Valley is a line of testimony from the lakes to the

gulf. Its series of earth-works, embankments and ditches, all laid down with precision and military science, remind us at once of the grassy mounds of Nineveh and Babylon. The paved roads, aqueducts, bridges, monuments, ruined temples, altars and idols—these raise their eloquent tongues in Mexico, in Peru and in the western slope of North America, against a savage origin. Not development, but a degeneration may plainly be traced from the period of the Aborigines to that of the 200,000 Indians whom the first European settlers found on this Continent. No wonder, then, that elaborate volumes are to be read, proving that the Jews first and then Christians colonized America. Even though we may not find the theory established, we may yet not ignore the masterly attempt.

Evidently the time has not yet come in which the problem, touching the original settlers of America may be fully solved; but the dawn is at hand. And the dawn presages a mid-day. Let us be satisfied with so much.

The following is a brief distribution of the copper colored race in the New World:

I. The Indians are the *Ganowanian* or Bow-and-Arrow race.

II. The principal families were:

1. The *Esquimaux—the eaters of raw meat*—who dwell above the sixtieth degree of latitude, from Labrador to Alaska.

2. The *Algonquins*, who lived east of the thirty-seventh parallel of latitude. Their home-seat was the Ottawa river.

3. Within this same territory also roamed the *Hu-*

ron-Iroquois. Their domain extended over the country reaching from Georgian Bay and Lake Huron to Lakes Erie and Ontario, and south to the valley of the Upper Ohio. Within this district was a Confederacy of powerful tribes having a common ancestry and generally—though not always—acting together in war. At the time of their greatest power and influence, the Huron-Iroquois embraced no less than nine Allied Nations. These were—*a*) The *Hurons,* living north of Lake Erie; *b*) the *Eries,* and *c*) *Andastes,* south of the Lake; *d*) the *Tuscaroras,* of Carolina, and the famous "Five Nations," to wit: *e*) The *Senecas, f*) *Cayugas, g*) *Onondagas, h*) *Oneidas,* and *i*) *Mohawks.*

The warriors of this Confederation represented the Indian character in its most favorable aspect. They were brave, patriotic and eloquent; not wholly averse to useful industry; living in respectable villages; tilling the soil with considerable success; faithful as friends, but terrible as enemies. It was with this strange people that Conrad Weiser dealt officially during a long lifetime. The Delawares called them "Maquas"; the French, "Iroquois"; the English, the *Five* or *Six Nations.*

4. South of the Algonquins were the *Cherokees* and the *Mobilian Nations.* The former family occupied Tennessee, the latter extending from the Lower Mississippi to the Atlantic. The Cherokees were greatly civilized from contact with the whites. The Mobilians embraced the *Yamassees* and *Creeks,* of Georgia; the *Seminoles,* of Florida; and the *Choctaws* and *Chickasaws,* of Mississippi. South of the thirty-second parallel of latitude these people manifested the singular circum-

stance of temple-building—a circumstance not displayed among northern tribes.

5. West of the Father of Waters was the great race of the *Dakotas*, whose country extended from the Arkansas river to the country of the Esquimaux and westward to the Rocky mountains.

6. South of these the *Comanches* lived, covering the present State of Texas.

7. Beyond the Rocky mountains were the Indians of the Plains—the *Shosonees*, *Selish*, *Klamaths* and *Californians*.

8. On the Pacific slope the famous races of *Aztecs* and *Toltecs* abode. These were the most civilized of the Indians, the best builders in wood and stone, and the least warlike.

The only hope of the perpetuity of the Indian race seems now to centre in the Choctaws, Cherokees, Creeks and Chickasaws. These number about forty-eight thousand souls. Whether the Government can adopt such a policy as to solve the problem confronting it, is a question. Judging from the poor success that has thus far attended the efforts made, the prospect does not promise happy results.*

*NOTE.—We are indebted to Ridpath's History for some facts in this sketch.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

CONRAD WEISER'S REMOTE ANCESTRY AND NATIVE PLACE.

The first condition necessary to a fair understanding and correct appreciation of a character is to know his origin. Call it providence, destiny, fatality, no man can wholly escape from his ancestry, if we may credit that part of the Declaration of Sinai—"for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generations of them that hate me, and showing mercy unto thousands of them that love me and keep my commandments."

In the ancient Electorate of Wurtemberg, also called the Duchy of Wurtemberg, a part of the once famous *Palatinate of the Rhine*, and in the town of Gross-Aspach, a place of some note in the county of Backnang—the pedigree of Conrad Weiser took its first beginning. "In this place," he tells us, in a fragment of his manuscript biography, "my ancestors, from time immemorial, were born and are buried—as well on my father's as on my mother's side."

The Lutheran Pastor Eisenhart, of Gross-Aspach, writes for us, February 17, 1871, from whose letter we extract as follows: "I herewith send you the Weiser lineage from the earliest date within my reach. Our Church books extend back but to 1693. During that

year the Parsonage, together with some two hundred homes, was laid in ashes by the French. The records were accordingly destroyed. I may then ascend no higher, notwithstanding my anxiety to serve you. The *Pastor Loci* in 1697 epitomized, from memory and tradition, the names of all the surviving members of the congregation. On this roll the name of John Michael Weiser appears, who died in 1721; and also that of John Conrad Weiser, who is designated a 'baker' in handicraft, as well as distinguished by the title of Corporal."* From the same source we learn that a certain Frederick Weiser, of the direct line, is at this time a resident of Gross-Aspach—a statement which a lately emigrated nephew confirms. We may also state, on written and verbal authority, that the name *Weiser* may be traced on the facade of an antique wine-press, which was regarded as one of the ancient landmarks of the place—in 1870, at all events. The patronymic is likewise engraved in the tablet of a venerable stone mansion, which either the historical Conrad's father or grand-father had erected. An eye-witness describes it as standing directly over from the Magistrate's office in Gross-Aspach. We were told that the stone had been carefully re-placed during the re-building of the house in 1799.

Conrad's manuscript autobiography contains this note touching his forefathers: "My great-grand-father was Jacob Weiser, and my grand-father was, likewise, Jacob Weiser." The former he designates a "Schuldheisz," the Chief Magistrate of a district, somewhat be-

*NOTE.—The Pastor alluded to bore the name of HEGELE. He was subsequently deposed from the ministry for engaging in the very unclerical business of a wine merchant.

yond a Justice of the Peace among us. It is worthy of notice that the grand-father and father, as well as Conrad himself, filled the same office in their several days.

On the strength of Pastor Eisenhart's letter, Conrad Weiser's record, and the sayings of an eye-witness and living descendant, we are safe in regarding Gross-Aspach as the cradle-place of Conrad Weiser's ancestry, and that ancestry as of some age and honorable.

The numerous descendants of our venerable hero, scattered as they are over a number of States at this day, may hereby learn the source-spring of their being. We know of no Weiser-scion in America, which is not an outgrowth of Conrad, and through him a branch from the original trunk. This humble sketch will afford them the means, however spare, of knowing the quarter of their earthly origin, as well as the period of their fore-father's arrival in America, and line of their blood and name—all of which is fast proving a great satisfaction to the children of German, Swiss, French, English and other emigrated ancestry, in the measure according to which the society of our country is crystallizing into *Families*—a process which no nation can eventually escape.

CHAPTER II.

CONRAD WEISER'S PARENTS. HIS FATHER AND MOTHER.

Conrad Weiser's father was John Conrad Weiser. He was born and reared in the town of his ancestry—Gross-Aspach. Following the humble trade of a baker in early life, he succeeded by diligence and self-culture to attain to the position and office of "Schuldheisz," or American Esquire. He occupied, likewise, the station of a Corporal in the military service, and is so distinguished in the obituary note of his wife, which is entered on the necrological roll of his native place.

His wife, the mother of Conrad, was Anna Magdalena Uebele—not Webele, as it is usually written. This worthy woman was a native of the same place. We are told that the name is still worn by living representatives and descendants there.

On the first day of May, A. D. 1709, she died in the forty-third year of her life. The primal sorrow of her sex carried her from the bosom of her large family into eternity, when about to become the mother of her sixteenth child. Almost a moiety of this large group must have died quite young. Eisenhart informs us that only twelve names are enrolled, though in the mortuary notice it is distinctly mentioned in these words: "*Anna Magdalena Weiser died in the forty-third year of her life—the mother of sixteen children.*"

The catalogue of surviving children, in 1710, runs thus: Catharine, Margaret, Magdalena, Sabina, Conrad, George Frederick, Christopher Frederick, Barbara and John Frederick. Seven of their children must, then, have preceded her to that unknown and silent shore. We feel constrained to add a tribute of regard over the ashes of such a "mother in Israel" in view of the bare but eloquent fact just told us. Is not such a woman a martyr in a certain sense? Her noted son, Conrad, had then been in his thirteenth year, and tender enough never to have forgotten his early and great loss. He kindly writes of her: "She was much beloved by her neighbors and feared God. Her motto was, '*Jesus Christ!* For Thee I live; for Thee I die; living or dying, I am Thine.'"

Her religious nature was largely implanted and perpetuated in her son, as we shall more fully learn in these pages. The doctrine that ascribes all the noble qualities and virtue of a child to the mother is a false doctrine. 'Mind is *not* of the mother' exclusively. The children of the Indians are always distinguished by the name of the mother. The reason they give for this habit is, that their offspring are indebted to the father for their souls, the invisible part of their being, and to the mother for their bodies. We are inclined to endorse their view as orthodox. The Scriptural argument in favor of its correctness can be conducted with ease, if we are permitted to quote the holy mystery of the Incarnation as an analogy.

Yet the maternal influence counts for much, certainly —for one-half, if you please—in the formation of the offspring's character. This woman, though dying in

mid-life and when her son was but a child, lived on in him. Like a good angel, her piety cleaved close to his heroic spirit all through his eventful life. We must ever hold the child of religious parents at a premium.

Conrad could never cease regretting the loss of his mother. Any half-orphan, of any tenderness, will appreciate his feelings. You seem constantly to detect a sighing after her. This is an evidence of the amiability of his nature, which even the savages could feel in later years. But might not that excellent mother's longer stay on earth have softened, weekened and enervated the child, and this unfitted the man for the miles and miles of marching, for the severe life that lay before him? May not such a silver lining be found to the dark cloud which so often empties its fatal charge on a houshold and strikes the mother?

Conrad's heart was of his mother, let us concede. But the strength, energy and self-reliance, which he exhibited, came by his father. Had not his father been just the cast-iron man he was, his offspring would never have shown so hardy a son. By Providence, then, the mother was suffered to come aloft, lest the son might be petted and indulged beneath the level, from which it is only possible to construct and elevate a hero. In more than one noble life may we find some such philosophy illustrated.

CHAPTER III.

THE EXODUS OF CONRAD WEISER'S FATHER.

"*As a bird that wandereth from her nest, so is a man that wandereth from his place.*"—(Prov. 27, 8.)

The man who is led forth by the demon of unrest, or mere love of adventure, from his country and kindred, will surely realize the truth of the wise man's words. God "had made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth ; and hath determined the times afore appointed, *and the bounds of their habitation.*" This pregnant saying finds its application in the individual and family, no less than in the kindred, stock, tribe and race. It is in the violation of this Providential ordering that we may find the cause of the shipwreck of men and nations. There is a wedding of names to places, no less than a nativism of plants and animals.

But it was not from any such adventurous motive, we may safely say, that John Conrad Weiser, already beyond mid-life, left Europe ; the Palatinate ; the Duchy of Wurtemberg ; Gross-Aspach ; the dust of his ancestors that had been gathering and mouldering for several generations ; the cradle-place of his being ; his kindred and neighbors and friends—the like of which no man can ever hope to re-place in the latter half of his history ; his homestead, hallowed by the dearest associations and traditions ; and the fresh tombs of his faithful and pi-

ous wife and little ones: all these for North America—the Wilderness of the New World—the Indian Territory of the Province of New York. Why, then, was this Abrahamic Exodus? We may, to be sure, only surmise; but in this way, perhaps, approximate the true causes.

Europe was in a state of unrest. The Palatinate had been most cruelly visited and devastated by the French, especially in 1683 and 1693. Religious wars bore heavily on that once fair region. Spanish aggressions were followed by pestilence and famine. Finally came the winter of 1709, when birds perished on the wing, beasts in their lairs and mortals fell dead in the way.

Why, then, continue to dwell in this fated place? Had not good Queen Ann, of England, offered a free passage to America, the fabled land of promise? Had not Hollanders, Swedes, Swiss; Lutherans, Reformed, Mennonites, Quakers, all there opened the way already since 1613? Could not Penn and Pastorius, and others be trusted?

A migrating epidemic seized upon the stricken masses, and, as by a wave, 30,000 Germans washed along the shores of England. The Israelites were not more astounded at the armored carcasses of Egyptian soldiers lying by the banks of the Red Sea, the morning after their deliverance, than were the English at this immense slide of humanity. A three-headed demon stared the realm of Queen Ann in the face—poverty, famine, war. Alarm set in. Riots ensued. How came the deliverance? Five Chiefs of the Mohawk Indians, who constituted an embassage to the British Govern-

ment for the purpose of asking aid against French aggressions, saw and pitied—yes, pitied!—this perishing mass of men, women and children. They offered to open their hunting-grounds lying beyond the great Sea. The Government, only too happy over such a prospective riddance, devised ways and means of transportation, and Robert Hunter, the Provincial Governor of New York, led 4,000 Palatinates thitherward. "At the head of this Colony," says the "*Schwaebische Merkur and Kronik*," "stood John Conrad Weiser." National calamity drove him a voluntary exile abroad. Domestic affliction, too, had but two months earlier embittered his cup. And may not, at certain intervals, along the line of history, the same impulses stir the bosoms of prophet-men or pivot-men as moved the ancient Chaldean shepherd to peril his all—not knowing whither he went?

Let us listen to the nearer details of the veritable up-rooting of himself and his homestead, as given by the son: "In 1709 my father moved away from Gross-Aspach, on the 24th day of June, and took eight children with him. My eldest sister remained there with her husband, Conrad Boss, with whom she had two children. My father sold them his house, fields, meadows, vineyard and garden. But they could only pay 75 Guldens; the remaining 600 Guldens were to be paid at a subsequent period. As this was never done, it was made a present to them." A man at that period and in that country, owning a homestead with adjoining fields, meadows, vineyard and garden, worth 675 Guldens, and titled, besides, as an Esquire and Corporal, he may well be considered to have been the leading spirit of the Colony.

We will but add a morsel, touching their voyage. "In about two months we reached London, in England, along with several thousand Germans, whom Queen Ann, of glorious memory, had taken in charge and was furnishing with food." From the close of August until near the close of the year—four months—they lay over the Blackmoor. "About Christmas day we embarked, and ten ship loads with about 4,000 souls were sent to America." From a later notice we learn that this was a full six months' voyage. Considering the condition of this living freight, the rude construction of sailing vessels and the season of the year, we cannot well exaggerate the misery and suffering of our Palatinate forefathers. And yet Conrad, who having been but thirteen years old at the time, did not forget to magnify the kindness of Providence, through a record in his private journal of this tenor: "Give thanks to the Lord, for His mercy endureth forever. Let the redeemed of the Lord say so, whom He hath redeemed, and gathered them out of the lands, east and west, north and south. They wandered in a solitary way. In the wilderness they found no city to dwell in. Hungry and thirsty, their souls fainted in them. Then they cried unto the Lord in their trouble, and He delivered them out of their distress!"

In what respect, we may ask, were the Puritans in advance of the Palatinates? Neither in suffering nor in patience did the English excel the German pilgrims. We hail not the former less, but the latter more.

CHAPTER IV.

CONRAD'S FATHER CHIEF OF THE COLONY AT LIVINGSTONE MANOR.

Queen Ann had directed, with the acquiescence of the benevolent Mohawk Chiefs, that the goodly tract, on which Newberg and New Windsor subsequently rose, should be granted by Letters Patent to the Palatinates, as best adapted for the founding of their homes, schools and churches—the triune characteristic of our fore-fathers' advent. Robert Hunter, Governor of New York, and Robert Livingstone, a wealthy landlord of the Province, however, knew too well how to hold the emigrants in suspense, and delay the consummation of the good intention of the royal heart, until those grounds should fall under their own hands and control. They artfully and wickedly changed the course and destiny of the unsuspecting Colony. Having anchored at New York on the 17th day of June, 1710, the conspirators removed the Germans to Livingstone Manor by the following autumn, with the malicious design of owning and possessing living property. Hardly had the locating been effected, ere they imposed an annual ground rent for ten acres on every separate family. Then $33.00 were exacted *per capita* as passage money. According to Franz Lœher's calculation, this taxation would have netted the sum of $200,000 for the men-mongers. Like the tasks which the Egyptian rulers imposed upon the Israelites,

we may regard the burning of tar and the cultivation of hemp, which these greedy men exacted from the German Colony at Livingstone Manor. Let us hear Conrad's own words, lest we might falsely charge: "Here, in Livingstone Manor, or, as it was called by the Governor, *Loebenstein's* Manor, we were to burn tar and cultivate hemp to defray the expenses incurred by Queen Ann in bringing us from Holland to England, and from England to America. We were directed by several Commissioners, viz: John Cast, Henry Meyer and Richard Leykott, who were put in authority over us by Robert Hunter, Governor of New York." Who can refrain from recurring to the task-masters in Egypt? Did we but have access to their names, we might place them most appositely aside of their modern successors. Hunter and Livingstone were cousin-germans in the bargain and sale. The grounds were to have been a free gift, and their passage was to have been a free passage likewise. It was simply an outrage.

For a little while the Colony toiled under the strange and galling yoke, rather than provoke the ire of their Pharaohs, in whose hands they found themselves, as clay in the potter's. But quietly a rebellion was brewing, and the soul of that rebellion was John Conrad Weiser, their Esquire and Corporal. To him had already been accorded the position of counsellor and leader during the voyage hither, and he now naturally led the movement of resistance, which resulted in the emancipation of the Colony at Livingstone Manor in 1713.

Quite pathetic is his son's record in reference to this deliverance: "Many a time have they afflicted me from my youth, may Israel now say, and the Germans of New

York; many a time have they afflicted me from my youth, yet they have not prevailed against me."—"They have ploughed upon my back; they made long furrows."

"Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it." No pilgrim ever suffered more than the Palatinate pilgrims, nor with less blarney!

CHAPTER V.

CONRAD'S FATHER CHIEF OF THE COLONY AT SCHOHARIE.

The Palatinates confidently believed themselves to be in near prospect of Schoharie Valley, the territory indicated and donated by Queen Ann, at the suggestion and favor of the Mohawk Chiefs, who had witnessed their sad condition on the Blackmoors near London. Their sad discipline at Livingstone Manor dispelled their delusion. Then it was that they remembered the friendly Chiefs and their generous offer, with good Queen Ann's grant. Could not all those favors be revived? Deputies were sent to the Mohawks during the spring-tide of 1713. John Conrad Weiser was the first of seven deputies. Without awaiting the issue, the majority of the Colony left their village-homes along the Hudson. These villages were Palatinate, the Camp, Germantown, the German Flats, Tarbush, Ancram and Rheinbeck. Some strayed about in isolation, others sojourning at Albany and Schenectady—all awaiting a report from the deputies. In November the consent of the Indians was received. The valley was opened for their entrance for the consideration of $300.00. About one hundred and fifty families were consequently transferred to Schoharie, about forty English miles from Albany, in the spring of 1714. The sacrifice and toil incident to their second settling cannot be properly realized, even after reading the graphic recital of the junior Conrad, which we here insert: "In the spring of 1714 my father removed from

Schenectady, where he had procured winter quarters for his family with a man of the first rank of the Maqua Nation (Meinterstein), with about 150 families in great poverty. One borrowed a horse here, another there; also a cow and some harness. With these things they joined together, until being supplied, though poorly. They broke ground enough to plant corn for their own use the next year. But this year our hunger was hardly endurable. Many of our feasts were of wild potatoes (oehmanada) and ground beans (otagraquara) which grew in abundance. We cut mallow and picked juniper berries. If we were in need of meal, we were obliged to travel from 35 to 40 miles and beg it on trust. One bushel was gotten here and one more there, sometimes after an absence from one's starving family for two or three days. With sorrowful hearts and tearful eyes the morsel was looked for—and often did not come at all."

And yet here an embryonic civilization was forming in the wilderness, which fruited in plenty and happiness. In the course of a few years the following villages sprang up: Gerlachsberg, Smithberg, Foxberg, Weisersberg, Brunnerberg, Hartmansberg and Upper Weisersberg. The names of the deputies were severally allotted to the settlements.

Given a spot of ground, with poverty and hunger to boot, and the German will turn the desert into a garden. This is characteristic of his nature, which we see exhibited almost daily.

The inner life of the settlement is shown us with a tinge of sarcasm in these words: "In those days there was no king in Israel, but every man did that which was right in his own eyes." Such a fellow-feeling renders men wondrous kind.

CHAPTER VI.

CONRAD WEISER'S FATHER THE DEFENDER OF THE RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES OF HIS COUNTRYMEN AT SCHOHARIE.

The story of Naboth's garden is a sad commentary on the covetousness of the human heart. There is this redeeming feature about the conduct of Ahab and Jezebeel, though, that they offered an equivalent in money or another garden in exchange for it. This is more than can be said for Governor Robert Hunter and his mercenary coadjutors—the evil genii of the Germans. They permitted the unsophisticated and unsuspecting Colony to remain in peaceful and prosperous possession of their newly acquired settlements, until their dwellings became homelike and attractive, their fields, meadows and gardens fruitful. Then, as the hawk pounces upon a dovecote, these miserable but powerful parties fell upon their victims. And these were some of their pretexts: The Germans' titles were defective; they had no proof of Queen Ann's grant; they had not flattered Governor Robert Hunter; the Provincial Governor had long before sold their fruitful valley to seven landlords: Robert Livingstone, Meyndert Schuyler, John Schuyler, Peter Van Brughen, George Clark, the Provincial Secretary, Doctor Stæds and Rip Van Dam. Surely these Germans must either fly or buy.

The singular and suspicious part of the whole transaction is that these are just *seven* landlords, one for every

one of the seven settlements! In the language of the record, "a great uproar arose both in Schoharie and Albany upon this notice." In vain did the terrified and perplexed Germans cry out against the injustice of such technicalities and fraud. Of what avail were the pleadings of the Queen's favor or the Indians' generosity? The ears and hearts of the voracious plunderers were deaf and dumb.

The Palatinates determined to delegate three Commissioners to London. These were *Weiser*, *Schaff* and *Walrath*.

The Governor and his crew, in order to gain time, plot more effectually, and, perhaps, wholly prevent the departure of the delegates, pretended to contemplate a favorable compromise. But suspicion and jealousy had now filled the minds of the Germans and would not suffer them to brook delay. They secretly departed on their mission, at the expense of the Colony, which was doubtless a burden for them to bear.

Already in Delaware Bay they fell into the clutches of pirates. Their private purses were delivered, but not the trust money of the Colony. They were subjected to severe trials. Weiser was bastinaded three different times, in order to induce him to disgorge. But he was too firm to yield. Schaff told them they had their all, after which they were liberated without provision or suitable clothing. They embarked a second time from Boston, after having begged or bought their outfit, and arrived in London poor, strange and helpless, only to find that good Queen Ann had died.

Hunter and company had likewise despatched their agents to England, who knew but to well how to mis-

represent the Germans as rebels, as a pestiferous set and as enemies to the Crown. The German delegates were indicted and imprisoned for debt. They wrote for help, but their letters were intercepted. Finally the report of their sad lot reached the ears of their people at Schoharie, and money, gotten with sweat and toil, was forwarded—£70 for redemption. The affairs came before the "Lord's Commissioners of Trade and Plantations," too, and Governor Hunter was re-called. Walrath grew tired and embarked for home, but died at sea.

Nothing daunted the remaining two petitioned anew, and succeeded at last in having an order issued to the newly commissioned Governor, William Burnet, to grant "vacant lands to all the Germans who had been sent to New York by the deceased Queen Ann."

In 1721 Schaff and Weiser had a quarrel. The former would no longer submit to Weiser's dictation and returned. His son, Conrad, says: "*Sie hatten beide harte Kæpfe.*" Six months after his return Schaff died.

John Conrad Weiser returned in 1723, after an absence of four years of suffering and sacrifice in the interest of the Colony.

The new Governor felt like conciliating the disaffected parties, but they were nevertheless obliged to see their best acres abandoned or retained at enormous prices. Some made a virtue out of necessity and fell in with the new order, even at the expense of their manhood. Others would rather scatter here and there over the Province. But Weiser could not trust any longer. Whilst his son was coming forward and assumed a conspicuous part, the elder could not fit himself into the

existing circumstances. He quietly planned another exodus, which, though resulting in a failure for himself, as all his projects had proven since he left Gross-Aspach, was a happy enterprise for his son in the end.

CHAPTER VII.

CONRAD'S FATHER LEADS A COLONY TO TULPEHOCKEN, PENNSYLVANIA. HIS RETURN AND WANDERING. HIS VISIT TO TULPEHOCKEN. HIS DEATH.

About this time, 1723, His Excellency, William Keith, Baronet Governor of Pennsylvania, had been staying in Albany. Hearing of the unrest of the Germans in that Province and anxious to draw them into his own, he lost no time to inform them of the freedom and justice that were accorded to their countrymen in Pennsylvania. It is even intimated that Governor Keith secretly meditated the founding of an independent State.

The manuscript record of the younger Conrad Weiser relates the following: "The people got news of the land on the Swatara and Tulpehocken, in Pennsylvania. Many of them united and cut a road from Scholarie to the Susquehanna river, carried their goods there and made canals, and floated down the river to the mouth of the Swatara, driving their cattle over land. This happened in the spring of the year 1723. From thence they came to Tulpehocken, and this was the origin of the settlement." A Colony of some sixty families located principally in Heidelberg township. In the "Schwæbische Kronik," March 8, 1868, it is asserted, on the authority of Fr. Kapp's "History of German Emigration to America," that John Conrad Weiser piloted

this small Colony to Tulpehocken, and that after a still further activity, during twenty more years, he died among his children and grand-children in 1746. It seems that the opening and closing items of the relation are correct, whilst the important omission, that he did not *remain* at Tulpehocken, leaves us under a wholly wrong impression. It has ever been a saying, on what authority we know not, that it had been his intention to commence the world anew on this theater. He came with the Colony as a leader and pioneer, it was said. But the crowd proved too anarchical for him. Conrad wrote in 1745, whether with special or exclusive reference to this occasion we know not: "*Es war Niemand unter dem Volk, der es regieren konnte. Ein Jeder that, was er wollte, und ihr starker Eigensinn hat ihnen bis auf diese Stunde im Wege gestanden.*" His older children being married and settled in New York, it may be that he returned to his former territory after a little while. Be this as it may, we know that he did not remain here.

"*Der Hallische Nachrichter*" contains this item from the pen of the Patriarch Pastor Muhlenberg: "In the year 1746 came my wife's grand-father to my house; he had resided in New York since 1710, and lately on the borders of New England. He had left that country on account of the dangers which he apprehended from the French and Indians who had lately murdered several German families. Moreover, he was also anxious to see his children and grand-children; to converse with them on the subject of religion and to spend his last days unmolestedly among his kindred in Pennsylvania. He was very infirm and frail when he came, and was confined in bed for some time after his arrival. After he

had been somewhat convalescent, his son, Conrad, my father-in-law, who resided at Heidelberg, fifty miles off, sent a wagon with suitable bedding for them. He reached Heidelberg with much difficulty; lived but a short time afterwards with his son, and fell asleep in death in the presence of his weeping children and grandchildren."—(*Rupp's translation.*) His age is estimated at 86 years.

Thus ends the long, active life of John Conrad Weiser, *Senior*. After an almost unbroken pilgrimage of thirty-six years in the New World, he dies helpless and poor in the house of his son. One could wish him to have had greater success for his many and heavy sacrifices. A sterling, good man he showed himself to be. And, alas! so little fruit to enjoy. Was it the mistake of his life-time to leave his country and kindred, at his age, and in his widowed state, with his large family of motherless children? Or, was he to be a fore-runner to his son, who should thus have an open field to labor, prepared for him? Or, again, did he but fly from evils which he knew, to lesser ones he knew not of?

His son finds the key to all his misfortunes in his ill-fated second marriage, as we shall presently see.

His remains are presumed to lie entombed in the grave-yard adjoining the Tulpehocken Church. The tomb, it seems, is no longer to be distinguished among the many in that locality. The Rev. Dr. C. H. Leinbach and son, and Louis A. Wollenweber, Esq., of Womelsdorf, have searched for it in vain, doubtless because a stone is wanting, or its inscription proves no longer legible.

CHAPTER VIII.

JOHN CONRAD WEISER, JUNIOR. HIS NAME—BIRTH-PLACE—BAPTISM.

It will doubtless create a surprise, bordering close on a protest, indeed, to be told at this late day that the prenomen, *John*, attaches properly to the historical Conrad Weiser—thus rendering him a full name-sake of his father, John Conrad Weiser. Because he opens his autobiography in this wise: "I, Conrad Weiser, was born, &c."; and as he never, on any occasion, among the many that called forth his signature, records his name more largely, the public naturally took and tenaciously held to plain Conrad Weiser. Whether it was merely conventional, or in order to distinguish father and son, without dragging on the luberly *affix*, "*Junior*," we will not decide. But all discussion is cut short, and all doubt must vanish before the face of the Baptismal Record, which Pastor Eisenhart deciphered and forwarded. That reads: "John Conrad." The date and place of birth are, however, not noted with the entry of his name. This want Conrad supplies in his autobiography. He tells us that he was born at Afstaedt, which is a small village in Herrenberg, a county contiguous to that of Backnang, Wurtemberg, "on the 2d day of November, A. D. 1696." He is careful, too, to note that he "was" baptized in the Church in Kueppingen, on the 12th day of the same month and year. Kueppingen was the

nearest Church town to Afstaedt. Pastor Eisenhart had the goodness to address a letter of inquiry to the Rector at Kueppingen, and received the following reply:*

"ROYAL PARSONAGE, KUEPPINGEN.

In the Baptismal Record of this place, which also contains the birth notices of Afstaedt, the name of Wei-

*NOTE.—The following letter Pastor Eisenhart had addressed to Pastor Eckstein:

"A clergyman in America, Pastor Weiser, who is a descendant of an old family of Gross-Aspach, some members of which emigrated to America in 1709, has respectfully asked me to furnish him with the records of his lineage, as far back as it is possible to cull them from the Church Books, since he is minded to frame a Genealogical Tree, and to arrange the chain of his ancestors. I find, however, that one of the chief characters in line had resided in Afstaedt, viz: John Conrad Weiser, who is styled a Baker and Corporal; and his son, who is of the same name, and played a prominent part in America, it seems, was born there. And besides him, some of his brothers and sisters must have been born in Afstaedt, namely: Maria Catherine, Anna Magaret, Anna Magdelena, Maria Sabina—the fifth child would then be John Conrad. All these were born prior to 1699. During this year the family seems to have taken up its residence in this place again. I ask, accordingly, in case the Church Books extend back so far, to inform me of the dates of the births of the said children, and also of the title the father bears on the Baptismal Record. In the enclosed paper, in which the 'fata' of the Weiser family in America are mentioned, he is denominated a Chief Magistrate, though he is on the Record before me merely designated a Baker and Corporal. Had he perhaps been appointed to this higher position in Afstaedt?

Whilst I, in advance, return my thanks for the desired contributions, and for the return of the enclosed slip, I embrace the opportunity, at the same time, of sending the warmest greetings of the inmates of the Parsonage in Gross-Aspach, to the honored dwellers in the Parsonage at Kueppingen, and on the score of old friendship, subscribe myself very respectfully,

Your most obedient,

GROSS-ASPACH, Feb. 10, 1871. PASTOR EISENHART."

ser is not to be discovered, whether ten years previous, or ten years subsequent to 1696. From your remarks, I think this remarkable, indeed. With sincere regrets for not being able to serve you, and reciprocating most heartily your kind regards,

I remain, very truly,

KUEPPINGEN, Feb. 15, 1871. PASTOR ECKSTEIN."

Eisenhart says, in his letter: "I was especially anxious to know whether John Conrad Weiser, the elder, had not been a Chief Magistrate in Afstaedt, since he is so styled in the "Schwæbische Kronik and Merkur," which I likewise enclose; though he is merely denominated a Baker by trade, and a Corporal of the Blue Dragon, in the Records before me."

But whether we can account for the silence of the Record at Kueppingen or not, Conrad tells us all we need know in the words: "My father so informed me." This is, we may safely say, all the authority that most men have for believing that they were born and baptized in some certain place. His name appears on the Baptismal Record in Gross-Aspach as that of the fifth child born to John Conrad and Anna Magdalena Weiser, without date or place, as before mentioned. Eisenhart surmises the five eldest children to have been born at Afstaedt, during the father's *temporary* residence there. An intelligent German informs us, that Government officials are accustomed to enter items of domestic history in the Church-Books of their "Vater Stadt," no matter in what locality they may have transpired. It is fair to surmise, then, that the elder Conrad Weiser removed from Gross-Aspach, in Backnang, to Afstaedt, in the adjoining county of Herrenberg, discharging there the

duties of his office until 1699, in which year we find him back again in Gross-Aspach, and the birth of his sixth child entered as occurring there.

The pietistic and biblical complexion of the man reveals itself throughout his Manuscript Journal, in the Scriptural selections which he appends to every paragraph. He crowns the entry of his nativity with such passages, to wit: "I will praise Thee, for I am fearfully and wonderfully made. Marvelous are Thy works; and that my soul knoweth right well. My substance was not hid from Thee, when I was made in secret, and curiously wrought in the lowest parts of the earth. Thine eyes did see my substance yet being imperfect, and in Thy book all my members were written, which in continuance were fashioned when as yet there was none of them. How precious also are Thy thoughts unto me. O God, how great is the sum of them."

CHAPTER IX.

CONRAD'S ARRIVAL IN AMERICA. HIS STAY WITH THE MAQUA INDIANS.

Conrad was nearing the close of his fourteenth year, when his father, a widower with eight children, landed at New York—three sisters being older, and three brothers and one sister younger than himself. About the close of November, 1713, a Chief of the Maqua Nation* —whom his father learned to know favorably, during his visit to Albany, on his mission of negotiation for Schoharie Valley—made a friendly stay in the family. This Chief was called Quagnant or Guinant. Manifesting a fondness for the lad, he besought the father's consent to take him to his own people. The elder Conrad, knowing the Chief as trustworthy, and the younger Conrad feeling no longer any home attraction, in consequence of his step-mother's entrance into the household, the strange request of Quagnant was acquiesced in.

Here we must, as we also happily may, allow him to tell his own experience: "I went accordingly, on my father's request. I endured a great deal of cold in my situation, and by Spring my hunger surpassed the cold by much, although I had but poor clothing. On account of the scarcity of provision amongst the Indians, corn was then sold for 5 and 6 shillings a bushel. The

*NOTE.—The Maquas were the Six Nations.

Indians were oftentimes so intoxicated, that for fear of being murdered, I secured myself among the bushes."

It must not be overlooked that Conrad had by this time entered upon his seventeenth year. His stay continued during eight months, in which period the foundation to his future history and efficiency was well laid. Hunger, thirst, cold, lying in ambushes, entering on foot-races and chases—courses in such exercises developed lungs, bone and muscle, without a bountiful supply of which, the necessary endurance for his subsequent marches over trailing paths for miles and miles, would never have come to him. Conrad Weiser had a call to a mission, and this Indian experience was the 'college' in which his qualifications were developed.

Besides, Conrad Weiser during his eight months' tuition under Quagnant rendered himself familiar with Indian life—their manners, ways and habits; their instincts, likes and dislikes; their language—all of which constituted a higher order of education for his future work. This was civil-service-reform, however *un*-civilized. We question whether the United States Government, or any of our State Governments, has ever had an official or public functionary, who was better qualified for his post, than Conrad Weiser proved. Perhaps when the world-menders and government-tinkers are all dead, statesmen will take a step backward in order to get on, in all matters pertaining to our Indian affairs.

Conrad Weiser proved an apt pupil under Chief Quagnant. Hear him tell: "During the latter end of July I returned again to my father's, from my Indian home. I had acquired a tolerable beginning, and, in fact, understood the greater part of the Maqua tongue."

He had at once occasion to apply his knowledge in this direction, under the homestead roof: "About one English mile from my father's dwelling (at Schoharie) resided a few families of the Maqua tribe; and oftentimes a number of that Nation passed to and fro, on their hunting expeditions. It frequently happened that disputes arose between the high-mettled Germans and members of this tawny Nation. On such occasions I was immediately sent for, to interpret for both parties. I had a good deal of business, but no pay. None of my people understood their language, excepting myself, and by much exertion I became perfect, considering my age and circumstances."

How rapidly did not this singular episode in the young man's life unfold its meaning! Providence indicated the open door. The Chief is an unconscious instrument in the employ of the higher motor. The far-seeing and thoughtful father discerned and intelligently interpreted the fact. The youth voluntarily lends himself to this combination of circumstances. In eight short months Conrad Weiser is prepared to serve as benefactor to two races, for a period of nearly fifty years—in a manner as Joseph served both the Israelites and the Egyptians. Do we not lose the emphasis and force, in a large measure, of Scriptural narrative, by isolating those sacred incidents, and confining God's remarkable interventions to a far remote period? Those holy relations are not written for after ages, because nothing similar had occurred before, perhaps, or will thereafter, but rather since they have a prophetic bearing upon the Redeemer of the world, in whose interest only 'Holy Writ' has a concern. "I am the Lord, I change not."

It is in this way that we may interpret many profane occurrences, without becoming wicked. A profound student of the Bible is, perhaps, best qualified to become a historian. Is not Holy Writ a photograph of history? History does repeat itself, but not so as to be a mere tautology.

CHAPTER X.

CONRAD WEISER AND HIS STEP-MOTHER.

When Conrad had attained to his fifteenth year, his step-mother entered the household, in 1711. We cannot tell her name. She was a German emigrant, and of the Province of New York. We judge her to have been her husband's junior by much, since she survived him by many years. Her step-son does not speak kindly of her. We will let the reader judge from what has been already noted.

After his return from the Maqua tribe, a spell of sickness came over him in consequence, doubtless, of his change of living. This he relates, but not without reflecting severely on his father's second wife. "About this time I became very sick, and expected to die; and was willing to die, for my step-mother was indeed a step-mother to me. By her influence my father treated me very harshly. I had no friend, and had to bear hunger and cold. I had frequently, during my sickness, made my determination to desert from my father, after my recovery, but the bit of the bridle had been laid so tight to my mouth that I gave up this resolution. I was tied with a cord to prevent me from running away. I was severely chastised by my father, and finally took another resolution." This time, it seems, he executed his design, since we find him no later under his father's roof. We are sorry that Conrad Weiser left

this portion of his manuscript record to remain. There is no excuse for him, after his experience with the Maqua Indians, and near his twentieth year, to thus reflect on his father's wife, and, through her, on his father, who certainly had proven himself a very worthy man.

The benevolence of biographers is infinite, it is said. This must be taken as a hyperbole, in the present instance. We do not feel like suffering his harsh words to pass unrebuked. It appears that every step-child feels itself fully licensed to berate its step-mother. By what style of exegesis a step-mother is excluded from the embrace of the first command with promise, we know not. Certain it is, that step-mothers bear a very different reputation from that borne by step-fathers, or any parental characters of whatever sort. They, alas! constitute a race of women who have 'no rights which we are bound to respect.' From Conrad Weiser's unwise entry, one feels like squatting them lower than the Maquas. And that a man, who proved himself so prudent and wise during a long and trying life, should have contributed anything towards strengthening this foolish and harmful prejudice, is to be regretted. We might excuse him for his imprudence on the score of youthfulness, had he but in maturer years recorded an explanatory clause. But even his son records her demise (1781) without erasing his cruel words.

The proverb runs: "A step-mother makes a step-father." Perhaps by extending our vision a little further back, we might learn that it is the *father* that is the occasion and cause of the step-mother, since he enjoys the prerogative of conducting her into the family. And

once there, that father is as much bound to "protect" his second wife, or step-mother, even though it be against his own natural children, as he is required to shield her against any one's assaults. Whilst we would certainly expect such a father to consider duly his surroundings and relations, ere he leads any "strange woman" to his hearth and heart, yet, when the measured step has been taken, we will honor him all the more for asserting, in spirit and conduct, that he does not intend the spider-and-fly philosophy to animate the life of his home.

We have a suspicion, from the manner in which Conrad entangles his father, that the elder Conrad Weiser intended to be master in his own house. In may be taken for granted, judging from his heroic conduct at Livingstone Manor and Schoharie, that he was fully able to conduct his family matters after an average rule of right. The younger Conrad, it may likewise be supposed, had become willful, as it were, and free without becoming of age, and thus rendered the discipline of his father somewhat severe. The elder Weiser had come from a country in which the *parents* governed the children. Here is a picture of our Puritan ancestors, which applies equally well to our Palatinate Forefathers:

"They were too stern, we acknowledge, and rigid; they knew little or nothing of the gentleness and sweetness of the Gospel; but they maintained family government, and trained up their children to honor and obey their parents, to be honest and upright. Their sons grew up with strong and manly characters, patterned after their fathers, and filled worthily their places when they were gone, in the family, in society, in the church, and in the state. There is no use in denying it, private

and public virtue was the rule; men and women, with rarely an exception, were loyal to their trusts, and could be relied on."

Such a man and father we believe the elder Weiser to have been. And as Conrad was reared by him, and proved a true man, he is his own best refutation.

We know of step-mothers who excelled many natural mothers. Many of the former class, too, dare not venture half-way up to the privileges and duties of their station, lest they be tabood by the children of their husbands, who are instigated and encouraged thereto by meddlesome neighbors and a vitiated public conscience. We are ready to affirm, that many noble-hearted women have entered family groups of motherless children with the lofty motive and holy determination to be mothers indeed, who were, however, confronted by so fierce a prejudice against themselves, both within and without the homes, as to break down and die broken-hearted—and solely because they occupied the position in question. Either the practice of choosing step-mothers should cease on the part of wive-less fathers, or the said fathers should resolve to prove somewhat more valiant Knights to the women who enter their castles at their own urgent entreaties. Then, it may be, the position of step-mother will no longer fall under par, because the character, conduct and spirit of *step-children* will stand at a higher premium.

CHAPTER XI.

CONRAD WEISER'S BROTHERS AND SISTERS. HIS OCCUPATION. HIS MARRIAGE. HIS DEPARTURE FOR PENNSYLVANIA.

The motherless children of the elder Conrad Weiser had been separated and scattered over the Province of New York, already from the day of his second marriage, as the younger Conrad states. Having informed us, that his eldest sister, Mrs. Boss, remained in the homestead in Gross-Aspach, he relates further, that two of his brothers, George Frederick and Christopher Frederick, "were bound out, in 1711, by the Governor of New York, with the consent of my father, to a gentleman on Long Island." He speaks of another thus: "My youngest brother, John Frederick, died in about the sixth year of his life, during the month of December of the same year—(1711)—and was buried at Livingstone Manor, '*in the country*,' as the people called it. His tomb was the first by the spot where the Reformed Church now stands." A sister became the wife of a Mr. Picket, whose son, John, Conrad subsequently recommended, in 1750, to the Mohawks, "as well suited to learn their language, and serve them after I should grow too old."

Conrad left his fathers house during 1713-14, for an Indian Town, about eight miles south of Schoharie. Here he resided until he left for Pennsylvania, in 1729.

He was employed, like the vast majority of his German fellows, in agriculture under its rudest form. With but a limited education, but of an energetic and brave spirit, he filled the position of a school-master, and thus, in the course of fifteen years, secured to himself a solid and useful self-culture, whilst he was teaching rudiments to his wards. Conrad Weiser was eminently a self-made man, so far as this is possible for one.

Here, too, Conrad Weiser opened his own family-history. Of this event he speaks plainly: "In 1720, while my father was in England, I married my Anna Eve; and was given in marriage by the Reverend John Frederick Hæger, Reformed clergyman, on the 22d of November, in my father's house, at Schoharie."* The maiden name of his wife we have never found mentioned; nor has any one else, so far as we could learn. Were we open to gossip, we might give full heed to the current and somewhat romantic tradition, that Conrad Weiser had married a Mohawk Indian maiden. The invariable absence of her patronymic, coupled with the fact of his earlier and later residence among the Maqua people, constitutes the basis of the strange surmise. The fact or fancy, that the immediate descendants of the pair, had always been distinguished by straight raven-colored hair and a bronzed complexion, came in as an afterthought, and served as a very handy support to the view agoing. It was mooted, too, that the primitive name, *Eve*, was ominous of the conceived idea; and that it was designedly chosen, in order, on the one side, to

*Note.—The Colony extended along both sides of the Hudson. Pastor John Frederick Hegar officiated on one side, and Pastor Joshua Kocherthaler on the other.

ignore her former Indian origin, and, on the other, to indicate her incipient motherhood to a different race.

It is not well to fly in the face of an old creed, if it is in any wise supported by reasonable credentials. Nevertheless, we hesitate not to write down Mrs. Anna Eve Weiser as a full-blooded Palatinate woman. It is easy to account for the rise and onward flow of the story of Conrad Weiser's Mohawk wife. His silence touching her patronymic made it necessary for his posterity to go in search of it. As Indians wear no family cognomen, the notion that she might have been an Indian lay nearer, and proved easier to harbor, than to successfully ferret out the lost name. The organ for marvelous conception, besides, is large in many; and nothing proves more attractive, than Indian romance, in proportion to the distance exactly.

Whilst we cannot adduce a record, or any positive and direct testimony against the partially accepted fiction, there is yet much strong circumstantial proof to the contrary, which mars and spoils the romance for us. Conceding the truth of the singular saying, for a moment, how are we to account for the almost entire ignorance of the mother's vernacular, on the part of their *eldest* children, at least? Had it been indeed the mother-tongue of the household, then it is fair to suppose that the Mohawk dialect might have become a family parlance, more or less; and the older sons and daughters would naturally have taken it up in a measure. And yet, Samuel even is found to be too imperfectly acquainted with the Indian tongue to be efficiently employed by the Government, in the room of his deceased father, after the fairest trial had been afforded him. His

daughter, Mrs. Heintzelman, on the word of her father, "understood only here and there a word, from hearing the Indians talk at home." Nor has the learned world derived any contribution of Mohawk lore, even through the scholarly Muhlenberg line, though Mrs. Anna Maria Muhlenberg was Conrad Weiser's eldest daughter! In no child of the Indian Interpreter has any knowledge of the supposed *mother*-tongue cropped out. Conrad had practically learned the Maqua language in his early youth, as we have seen, and had found an almost unbroken occasion to use it officially during a long life. This fact, of itself, would not warrant us to expect even an acquaintance with a strange tongue, in the offspring, much less a familiarity. The language of court, government, or office, does not generally invade the precincts of the home. But let that tongue be the inherited one by the wife and mother, and flow from her lips, then the children will betray it, let them deny it never so persistently.

As for the straight, black hair and the dark hue of Conrad Weiser's immediate offspring, little stress should be laid on it. The stride between the premises and the conclusion is a fearfully long one. Thomas Corwin once said, "no man ought to be so impertinent as to allude to the Abolition theme in the presence of a man of my own complexion!" Still, Thomas Corwin's mother was not an Indian woman. It would, indeed, prove a difficult task, to find a sufficient number of Indian maidens to mother all the offspring of sombre, tawny hue. A hair is a slender thing to run a distinction on, and a shade is a fickle thing.

The fact that the Indians characterized Conrad Wei-

ser as "one-half a Seven Nation Indian and one-half an Englishman," seems to support the romantic theory. But even this double claim is satisfied by the circumstances of his birth and adoption. It is ever so interpreted and explained by the responses of the different Governors and Officials, in Councils and Conferences. Besides, his fellow Interpreter—Shekallamy—an Indian, is spoken of in like terms, who certainly had not been wedded to a white woman.

A much more likely explanation for the absence of Anna Eve's family-name is, that she had been an indentured orphan-girl, whose parents had either died during her early infancy, or whose parentage had been ignored, in consequence of her indentured condition. Such an accident befell the young not seldom, during the unorganized and unfixed state of society, of her maiden days. The lot of the 'redemptioner' was a sad lot, in more than one respect. We have heard it said, that Conrad Weiser called his bride "My Anna Eve," for the very good reason, that neither he nor she could tell what more to call her.

We, therefore, call for the record. And until that is produced, or its equivalent, we will permit John Rolfe, the handsome English planter of Virginia, to remain alone in the glory of having won and wedded the Indian maiden, Pochahontas—however inviting a basis the low whisper affords him to build his romance upon, who prides himself over the imaginary Indian blood coursing through his veins. (*See Note next page.*)

Here four of his children were born—Philip, Frederick, Anna Maria, and Madlina.

Aside of his domestic calling, as farmer and peda-

gogue, he had acquired some skill as a lapidary. There is in our possession a stone-handle to a riding-whip, which our fore-fathers have ever highly prized and carefully secured, because it was the workmanship of Conrad Weiser. It is of an octagonal form, and very high polish. This, with a large mirror and a heavy silver spoon, constitutes our whole collection of souvernirs of the man, though other members of his line, it is said, retain a larger and rarer cabinet.

During his father's absence in England, and after 1723, Conrad seems to have taken a conspicuous place in Provincial affairs. Familiar with the Mohawk tongue, he stood between the Indians and the English, as well as between the English and the Germans, in all matters of intercourse or dispute; whilst the active part his sire had taken during his active life, at Livingstone and Schoharie, had initiated him early into the secret of shielding his own countrymen against the tricks and encroachments of Government officials. "In the commencement of the year 1721," says he, "I was sent with a petition to the newly-arrived Governor Burnet." In such like transactions he bore a diligent hand for about a decade of years, when he left the Province.

Note.—We find the following extract recorded in an old family Bible, which we insert here, without being able, however, to vouch for its correctness:

"The Rev. Mr. Muhlenberg, likewise, writes in the 'Hollische Nachrichter': 'Our young interpreter remained back and entered into matrimony with a German Christian maiden, of Evangelical parentage, in 1720.'"

CHAPTER XII.

CONRAD WEISER'S ADVENT IN PENNSYLVANIA. THE BEGINNING OF HIS OFFICIAL HISTORY.

Six years after his father's pioneer visit to this Province, at the head of a Colony of perhaps sixty families, and nine years after his marriage, Conrad Weiser arrived at Tulpehocken, being now thirty-three years old. We are not left in doubt as to the time and place of his advent. "In 1729 I removed to Pennsylvania and settled at Tulpehocken." Here, in this valley, in the township of Heidelberg—named after a city in south Germany, in the Duchy of Baden—one-half mile east of the town of Womelsdorf, he located his permanent residence, in the year when Independence Hall was commenced. His chief aim was to be a farmer, as we infer, both from his own later declarations and the extent of agricultural acres which gradually came into his possession—numbering nearly one thousand acres, during a period of thirty years. But the circumstances of the country at that time and the peculiar qualifications of the man did not afford him such seclusion. There is a divinity in the affairs of men, communities and things, which manifests itself in the law of demand and supply—in that law of compensation, which provides organs and agents for every legitimate emergency. The intermingling of Indians, English and German people, challenged the presence and service of just such a man, as a solution to

the complication of circumstances. And here again was fulfilled that saying—"There standeth one among you."

Conrad Weiser first appears in the character of a volunteer Interpreter for the Council of Pennsylvania and several Indians. Shekallamy* finds him, already in 1731, in the wilds of Tulpehocken, and prevails on him to accompany him to Philadelphia. Here Governor Gordon, likely, learned to know and appreciate him. The sum of forty shillings was accorded him on this occasion for his free-will services. Under date of December, 1731, we find the following entry made in the Account of the Provincial Treasurer: "To cash, by order of the Board, paid to Conrad Weiser, who, at Shekallamy's desire, attended him from Tulpehocken, £2, 11s." After this introduction he remains continually in the public eye. A like order to the one just mentioned is recorded as having been honored March, 1732, for £3, 13s., 5d., for services rendered to the Shawnese Indians and the Province.

But the way was now opening for a more public and significant station. In the month of August, 1732, the Six Nations† express themselves as "very desirous that

*NOTE.—Shekallamy was an Agent for the Five or Six Nations, and resided at Shamokin. He is spoken of "as a trusty and good man, and a great lover of the English." In 1756, on Feb. 24, his son spoke in these words concerning him, in Philadelphia. "My father, who, it is well known, was all his life a hearty and steady friend to the English, and to this Province in particular, charged his children to follow his steps and to remain always true to the English, who had been ever kind to him and his family."

†NOTE.—The 'Four,' 'Five' and 'Six Nations' were an Indian Union, formed by the following Tribes: Maqua (Mohawks), Onondagos, Senekas, Oneydas, Tuskaroras, Cayoogas.

there may be more frequent opportunities of conferring and discoursing with their brothers, and that these may be managed by the means of Shekallamy and Conrad Weiser." On the following day the Indians say that "they would be pleased to have an answer to their proposition." The Governor replied as follows: "As to what you have said about employing Shekallamy and Conrad Weiser, on which you gave the first strings of Wampum,* we are very glad you agree with us in the choice of so good men to go between us. We believe them to be very honest, and will with cheerfulness employ them." The Council then presented the sum of £12 to Conrad Weiser, 'for accompanying and being very careful of the Indians on their way from Tulpehocken; and for having been extremely useful in framing an initiatory treaty with them.' It is also said, to the honor of the man, that 'because the men were not only very acceptable to the Indians, as appeared by their late recommendation of them, but likewise seemed to be persons of truth and honesty, all due encouragement should be given them.' Having thus secured the good will

Conrad Weiser says these lived from 200 to 500 miles from Lancaster, Pa. They are spoken of as the Iroquois, and for the most part dwelt in the northern portion of the United States—near the great Lakes, in New York, &c. Onondago was their Council Ground, whither the Delegates came annually or semi-anuually to deliberate on general affairs. Their Conventions were said to have been quite edifying.

*NOTE.—A Belt of Wampum is a leathern string on which are threaded white and violet shells, which are found on the coasts of New England and Virginia, and are cut into beads of an oblong form. It is a very solemn instrument among the Indians, as well as an ornamental wearing. It signifies a league of friendship, a ratification, a mark of honor, &c.

of the Provincial Officials and Indian Chiefs, by his native excellence and faithfulness, he is the acceptable mediator, henceforth, between the waxing and waning races. Conrad Weiser, accordingly, in the course of three years, steps out of his Tulpehocken obscurity into the position of an official and historical character.

William Penn and Conrad Weiser are two men, at least, of whom the Indians think and speak well. It is not too much to say that the pacific spirit of Penn was perpetuated by Weiser, and that the fair name of our Commonwealth, touching our treatment of the Indians, is perhaps as much owing to the fine policy of the latter, as it is to the amiable mind of the former.

CHAPTER XIII.

CONRAD WEISER, PROVINCIAL INTERPRETER. JUSTICE OF THE PEACE. 1732—1743.

From the year 1732, when George Washington was born, we may regard Conrad Weiser the officially recognized Interpreter of Pennsylvania. President Logan says, Oct. 12, 1736: "Conrad Weiser and Shekallamy were, by the Treaty of 1732, appointed fit and proper persons to go between the Six Nations and this Government, and to be employed in all transactions with one another; 'whose bodies,' the Indians say, 'were to be equally divided between them and us, we to have one-half and they the other.' They say 'they have always found Conrad faithful and honest. He is a good and true man, and has spoken their words and our words—not his own.' The Indians have presented him with a dressed skin to make him shoes, and two deer skins to keep him warm."

The Provinces of Virginia, Maryland and New York employed him in a like capacity, somewhat later. On the side of the Indians, all Tribes and Nations engaged him, and there was no important negotiation transacted, involving the interests of both races, in which he was not made use of. During the interval between 1732 and 1736, the messengers of the Six Nations were constantly passing to and fro, in order to bring the Treaty to a ratification. Conrad Weiser is the pivot-man on all

such occasions. Shekallamy naively says, in 1734, when not finding his trusty friend on hand: "Having finished inquiry, I will go to see Conrad Weiser, at Tulpehocken, and either relate it to him to be sent down hither in writing, or, if it be found to be of consequence, I will come hither and deliver it myself."

In 1735 he made a religious somer-sault, which will be noticed hereafter.

The Council Minutes, as they are preserved for us in the Colonial Records and Pennsylvania Archives, frequently record his name, at short intervals, over a dozen or more pages. Notice is taken of his valuable services, both by the Indians and the Council, again and again, and always in most favorable terms. In September, 1736, the Chiefs of the Six Nations were expected in Philadelphia to confirm the Treaty of 1732. He informed the Council, from Tulpehocken, that a large number would arrive from Shamokin, on the Susquehanna, and was asked to repair to Philadelphia at once, to attend and provide for them. On the 27th the Chiefs with Weiser came to the President's house at Stenton. Here a feast was provided. On the 28th the Council was held, in the presence of Gov. Thomas Penn, the Chiefs and other dignitaries. Conrad Weiser the Indians style "our friend." The sum of £20 is awarded him, and in no grudging way, as may be gathered from the following extract: "He has been very serviceable—which sum the Provincial Treasurer is directed to pay, and that he advance the said sum."

When Governor Gooch, of Virginia, desired this Province to mediate between the Six Nations, the Cherokees, the Catawbas and others, and himself, Logan writes

thus: "I had an opportunity of seeing Conrad Weiser, and judging him, from the experience this Government has had of his honesty and fidelity, to be the most proper person to carry the Six Nations the proposed message in this letter, I engaged Weiser to undertake the business, and gave him proper instructions to that end. He, now being returned, has, in his own words and hand-writing, given a very distinct and satisfactory account of the errand he was sent on; the Board will find it, in substance, to signify that the Six Nations are ready and willing to treat of and conclude a peace with their enemies; but declining to go to Williamsburg, they propose Albany."

In 1737 he was accordingly sent to Onondago, N. Y. This was his first great mission. He leaves Tulpehocken, in February, for a journey some five hundred miles long, through a wilderness without road or path, in the face of danger. His experiences are well told in his Journal, to which the reader is referred. In all the following years his name occurs on many pages, as though he were the most prominent man of the day. We question, too, whether any one man had been more widely and more favorably known, at that period, than Conrad Weiser was. It would tire our hand to write and but weary the eye, were we faithfully to insert this entry—"Conrad Weiser, Interpreter"—as often as it is made to stand on the official record.

During the year 1738, in May, he accompanies Bishop Spangenberger, David Zeisberger and Shebosch, Moravian Missionaries to the Indians, to Onondago again. Their hardships were many and great, all of which he cheerfully and heroically endured.

But he was not unmindful of home interests, though,

as it seems, so constantly engaged abroad. We never found a man busier over a larger territory, without neglecting his own house and neighborhood. In 1739–40, Feb. 4, he saw the propriety of organizing a new county, and accordingly signs a prayer to that effect, though the county of Berks did not come forth until 1752.

In the year 1741 he was commissioned as a Justice of the Peace for Lancaster county, and thus succeeded to the office which his father and grand-father had filled in Gross-Aspach. He continued in service as a Justice for many years, and after the erection of Berks county, he filled it within that territory, likewise. Fr. Lœher speaks of him as a Magistrate "known far and wide as an upright officer." But he displeased the lawless on many occasions, for be it remembered, Conrad Weiser was a *religious* man. Of a certain family he complains woefully, and thinks them "worse than any Indian or Frenchman." He acknowledges that he stands in dread of the members of the household. And well he might. One night those upon whom he pronounced the law's penalty, barred his windows and blockaded the doors, setting fire to some straw and other combustibles which they had carried under the stoop. One of the children awoke and gave the alarm. They broke through a window and thus escaped being burned alive.

It is related, as showing the humor of the man, that a certain troublesome woman, who had been continually worrying him for the arrest of her husband on the charge of 'assault and battery,' was once asked by him whether she did not sometimes deserve a little castigation at her husband's hands? To this query the woman, after some hesitation, made answer that she believed it

to be his right and her profit to have a chastisement administered occasionally, but that he indulged too frequently and too severely in the discipline.

In July, 1742, an account of his expenses was exhibited, amounting to £36, 18s., 3d. This seems a large bill; but that it did not strike the officials as being too exorbitant, or as calling for an investigation, the extract which we insert will show. "Taking into consideration the many signal services performed by Conrad Weiser to this Government, his diligence and labor in the service thereof, and his skill in the Indian languages and methods of business, we are of the opinion that the said Conrad should be allowed, as a reward from this Province, at this time, the sum of thirty pounds at least, besides payment of his said account."

Cannassatego, a Delaware Chief, bespeaks the good will of the Council at Philadelphia, after this manner, in his behalf: "We esteem our present Interpreter to be such a person, equally faithful in the interpretation of whatever is said to him, by either of us; equally allied to both. He is of our Nation and a member of our Council, as well as of yours. When we adopted him, we divided him into two equal parts—one-half we kept for ourselves and one-half we kept for you. He has a great deal of trouble with us. He wore out his shoes in our messages and dirtied his clothes by being among us, so that he is as nasty as an Indian. In return for these services we recommend him to your generosity. And in our own behalf we gave him five skins to buy him clothes and shoes with."

The Hon. George Thomas, Lieut. Governor of the Province, replied in these words: "We entertain the

same sentiments of the abilities and probity of the Interpreter as you have expressed. We were induced, at first, to make use of him in this important trust, from his being known to be agreeable to you, and one who had lived amongst you for some years in good credit and esteem with all your Nation, and have ever found him equally faithful to both. We are pleased with your notice of him, and think he richly deserves it at your hands. We shall not be wanting to make him a suitable gratification for the many good and faithful services he has done this Government."

It was in this year, during the month of July (12th), that another Tribe ratified the Deed, given some years earlier, for the land along the Schuylkill. To this instrument the names of Benjamin Franklin and Conrad Weiser are appended.

But another important mission opened before him. Count Zinzendorf had arrived in America, and was anxious that Conrad Weiser should accompany him to Bethlehem, to preach to the Indians. There he, accordingly, interpreted for the Count during the month of August. "This is the man," said he, "whom God hath sent, both to the Indians and the white people, to make known his will to them." On a similar errand he accompanied Count Zinzendorf, shortly afterwards, to Shamokin. He was enraptured over the success of the Gospel among the Indians. He expresses his delight in a letter, from which we cull the following extracts:

"I was very sorry not to have seen you at Shamokin (Buettner), owing to your indisposition. But the pleasure I felt, during my abode there, left a deep im-

pression upon me. The faith of the Indians in our Lord Jesus Christ—their simplicity and unaffected deportment—their experience of the grace procured for us by the sufferings of Jesus, preached to them by the brethren, has impressed my mind with a firm belief that God is with you. I thought myself seated in a company of primitive Christians.

"The old men sat partly upon benches and partly upon the ground, for want of room, with great gravity and devotion, their eyes steadfastly fixed upon their teacher, as if they would eat his words. John was the interpreter, and acquitted himself in the best manner. I esteem him as a man anointed with grace and spirit. Though I am not well acquainted with the Matikander language, yet their peculiar manner of delivery renders their ideas intelligible to me as to any European in this country. In short, I deem it one of the greatest favors bestowed upon me in this life that I have been at Shamokin.

"That text of Scripture, 'Jesus Christ the same yesterday and to-day, and forever,' appeared to me as an eternal truth when I beheld the venerable patriarchs of the American Indian Church sitting around me, as living witnesses of the power of our Lord Jesus Christ and of his atoning sacrifice. Their prayers are had in remembrance in the sight of God—and may God fight against their enemies. May the Almighty God give to you and your assistants an open door to the hearts of all the heathens. This is the most earnest wish of your sincere friend. CONRAD WEISER."

However sanguine he may have been of the conversion of the Indians, at the time of his writing, we do

not find that he colleagued longer with the Moravian Missionaries in prosecuting the noble undertaking. This much credit must, nevertheless, be given him that he at that early day suggested the only true plan by which any Missionary work can ever be carried forward, whether the material to be evangelized be Indian, African, or Asian or European. Pastor Muhlenberg states it in these words: "Mr. Weiser is of the opinion, that to convert them to Christianity it would be essential, among other methods, to adopt something like the following:

"I. Several Missionaries should take up their abode in the midst of the Indians and strive to make themselves thorough masters of their language; conform as far as possible to their costumes, manners and customs, yet reprove their natural vices by a holy, meek and virtuous deportment.

"II. Translate Revealed Truth into their own language, and present the whole as intelligibly as possible.

"III. The Missionaries should study the Indian tunes and melodies, and convey to them the law and the Gospel, in such tunes and melodies, in order to make an abiding impression, and thereby, under the blessing and increase of God, patiently wait for the fruits of their labors."—(*From Rupp's History of Berks and Lebanon Counties.*)

The interest which our hero took in the evangelizing of the Indians, will become all the more striking when we recall the fact that he spent three months in instructing *Pyrlaeus*, *Buettner* and *Zander*—Missionaries from Europe in 1741—in the Maqua or Mohawk language at Tulpehocken, during 1743, in order to preach the Gospel to the Iroquois, or Six Nations.

The year 1743 was a busy year for him. The Governor (Thomas) sends him to Shamokin. Of this trip he says: "On the 30th of January, 1743, in the evening, I received the Governor's order, together with the deposition of Thomas McKee, and set out next morning with Mr. McKee for Shamokin, where we arrived on the 1st of February. I left Shamokin the 6th and arrived at home in the night, the 9th of February."

In April the interests of Virginia and Maryland require his services. The Governor of Pennsylvania, accordingly, sends him to the same place. His own words are these: "In April, 1743, I arrived at Shamokin (9th), by order of the Governor of Pennsylvania, to acquaint the neighboring Indians, and those of Wyoming, that the Governor of Virginia was well pleased with the mediation, and was willing to come to agreement with the Six Nations about the land his people were settled upon, if it was *that* they contended for, and to make up the matter of the late unhappy skirmish in an amicable way."

But he is not permitted to recruit long in his Tulpehocken home. It was the opinion of the Board that Conrad Weiser should be immediately sent for and despatched to Onondago again. Instructions, given under the hand and lesser seal of the Province of Pennsylvania, dated June 18, 1743, were put into his possession. He was charged with delivering the good will of the Governor and Council of Virginia, with the distribution of £100; and with authority to arrange the time and place of meeting during the coming spring, in order to form a Treaty in regard to some disputed lands. Here are five hundred more miles to be gone over. By

the 1st day of August he hands up his Report to the Governor. He kept a Journal, noting all his experience, "for his memory's sake and satisfaction." We will relate some cullings, since there are "several things mentioned which are mere ceremonies and trifling details."

He went on horseback. He smoked many pipes* of Philadelphia tobacco, and told them that "it was enough to kill a man to come such a long and bad road, over hills, rocks, old trees, rivers, to fight through a cloud of vermin, and all kinds of poisonous worms and creeping things, besides being loaded with a disagreeable message." The tawny people laughed at him. He met *Aquoyiota*, an old acquaintance of his, a Chief seventy years old. While there, they feasted him on "hominy, venison, dried eels, squashes and Indian corn-bread."

The Record of Conrad Weiser, covering eleven years of constant service, was above all taint or suspicion. His private life, his official history and his religious zeal, all combine to present him a very beautiful character before us. It is a pleasure to hear the good reports, coming in from all sides, which endorse the traditional estimation of the man.

*NOTE.—The Pipe of Peace is the Indian Flag of Truce. It is often termed the "Calumet"—for what reason we know not. It consists of a reed some four feet long, inserted in a bowl of red marble, curiously painted over with hieroglyphics and adorned with feathers. Every Nation has its own peculiar decorations.

CHAPTER XIV.

TEN MORE YEARS OF IDIAN INTERCOURSE. MISSIONS AND DUTIES. 1744–1754.

Scenes of blood were frequent in those days. Through Conrad Weiser's philanthropic and wise policy many gory outbreaks were prevented, as our ancestors believed and assured us. But withal they did occur. In April, 1744, Governor Thomas was informed that John Armstrong, an Indian trader, with his two servants, Woodward Arnold and James Smith, had been murdered at Juniata, by three Delawares. Conrad was despatched to the Chiefs, at Shamokin, to look up and demand satisfaction for the deed. The culprits were imprisoned at Lancaster and hanged at Philadelphia. In reference to this matter he says, in a letter, dated Tulpehocken, April 26, 1744: "I am always willing to comply with His honor's commands, but could wish they might have been delayed till after Court, where my presence by many is required on some particular accounts. But as the command is pressing and cannot be delayed, I am prepared to set out to-morrow morning for Shamokin. I will use the best of my endeavors to have the Governor's and Council's request answered to satisfaction, by delivering up the two Indians and the goods. * * * I am afraid they have made their escape far enough by this time." In May he makes his interesting report. The Delaware Indians acknowledged the deed without

pleading "insanity." "It is true," said a Chief, "we by the instigation of the evil spirit, have murdered." * * * "We have transgressed, and we are ashamed to look up. We have taken the murderer and delivered him up to the relatives of the deceased, to be dealt with according to his works. The dead bodies are buried. Your demand for the goods is very just. We have gotten some, and will do the utmost of what we can to find them all. Our hearts are in mourning, and we are in a dismal condition and cannot say anything at present." A grand feast was prepared for over one hundred persons, who devoured a big, fat bear, in silence. A Chief, the oldest, rose and said: "Although, by a great misfortune, three of their white brothers had been murdered by the Indians, the sun had still not gone down, and war set in; but that only a little cloud had crossed the face, which now too had been cleared away; and that all the evil-doers should be punished, whilst the country remained in peace, and the Great Spirit must be praised." He then struck on a musical tune, which all chimed along. No words seemed to be employed—merely a tune, which was very solemnly uttered. At the end the veteran exclaimed: "Thanks! Thanks! To Thee, Great Governor of the World, that Thou hast chased away the clouds and suffered the sun to shine on once more. The Indians are Thy children."

The Great Council was held at Lancaster, Pa., June 22d, and a Treaty was made with the Six Nations. The Governor was present and the Commissioners of Virginia and Maryland. This Conference was a protracted one and ended about the close of July. Many pleasant occurrences are noted as having transpired during the

proceedings. The Indians frequently shouted their "*Johah,*" which denotes approbation and good feeling. It is a loud cry, and consists of a few notes pronounced in unison, in a musical manner, in the nature of our 'Hurrah.' Three hundred pounds were distributed among the Indians in presents, of vermillion, flints, jewsharps, boxes, lead, shot, gun-powder, shirts, blankets and guns. Conrad Weiser interpreted, and explained the present. A Deed was executed, by which all their claim and title to certain lands lying in the Provinces of Virginia and Maryland were released. They demanded that Conrad Weiser should sign the instrument, as well with his Indian name as with his English. His Indian name was *Tarachawagon.*

The messenger of the Governor of Virginia made the following complimentary allusion to the Interpreter in his address to the Sachems and Warriors of the Six Nations:

"Our friend, Conrad Weiser, when he is old, will go into the other world, as our fathers have done. Our children will then want such a friend, to go between them and your children, to reconcile any differences that may arise between them; who, like him, may have the ears and tongues of our children and yours.

"The way to have such a friend is for you to send three or four of your boys to Virginia, where we have a fine house for them to live in, and a man on purpose to teach children of yours, our friends, the religion, language and customs of the white people. To this place we kindly invite you to send of your children; and we promise you they shall have the same care taken of them, and be instructed in the same manner, as our own

children ; and be returned to you again when you please. And to confirm this, we give you this string of Wampum."

To this proposition Canassatego replied in these words :

"Brother Assaraquoa : You told us, likewise, you had a great house provided for the education of youths ; that there were several white people and Indian children there, to learn languages, to read and write ; and invited us to send some of our children among you.

"We must let you know we love our children too well to send them so great a way. And the Indians are not inclined to give their children learning. We allow it to be good, and we thank you for your invitation. But our customs differing from yours, you will be so good as to excuse us.

"We hope Tarachawagon (Conrad Weiser) will be preserved by the Great Spirit to a good old age. When he is gone under ground, it will be time enough to look out for another. And, no doubt, amongst so many thousands as there are in the world, one such man may be found who will serve both parties with the same fidelity as Tarachawagon does. While he lives there is no room to complain."

Surely the old Chief had knowledge of a very good sort of philosophy. It was teaching the popular proverb : "Never cross a bridge till you come to it" ; or the Christian theory, "Fear not, but trust to Providence."

This apt reply reminds us of another, similar in kind. General George Washington, while President of the United States, sent an Agent to the Chypewyan Tribe, whose friendship it was requisite we should cultivate to

preserve the lucrative fur trade. Among other things that the illustrious President offered was, "that the United States would take two or three of the sons of their Chiefs and educate them in our colleges." When the proposition had been offered, the Indians, who never give an immediate answer to things that they think of importance, told the Agent: "They would think of it." After a short time they returned for an answer: "That they had consulted on the subject, and were of the opinion that it would render them effeminate to be educated in our schools, as it would totally disqualify them to hunt or pursue the war; but, in return for the civility of their Chief Washington, they would, if he would send the sons of his men among them, educate them to pursue the chase for several days without eating; and to go without clothing in extremely cold weather, and, in frosty nights, to lay on the ground without covering, and every other thing requisite to make them Indians and brave men."

The Lancaster Treaty brought Conrad Weiser £15, 3s., 6d., to defray his expenses by.

During this year the Governor sent forth intimations of a war in prospect against the French. In order to keep the Indians on good terms with the English, Conrad Weiser was kept in constant employment. Hearing of the death of a Chief among the Onondagos, he suggests a visit of condolence, which he was accordingly ordered to perform, in September.

This being a very critical time, the traffic in liquor which the Traders carried on for pelf's sake, gave the Government much to do. Reduced to a state of intoxication, they would barter their skins away for a mere

song, and after having recovered from a drunken fit, they were ready to seek revenge. Conrad Weiser was the pacificator of the day. Governor Thomas said, at Philadelphia, August 24, 1744: "Tho' the Indian Traders are not the best sort of people, and may not do you well, yet you are not to take revenge yourselves, but apply, in all cases, to Conrad Weiser, who is a Justice of the Peace, and will hear your complaints and procure you such redress as our law will give you." The Delawares were satisfied with this advise.

With the opening of 1745 came further duties and tasks for our diligent man. In January, at his suggestion again, he builds a house for Shekallamy, at Shamokin, "49½ feet long and 17½ wide, and covered with shingles, in 17 days"—which we may regard a speedy job for that period. During this year, too, he gave his eldest daughter in marriage to the grand old Lutheran Patriarch, the Rev. Dr. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, as we shall learn in another place. But he has little time to spend in festivities at home. French machinations call him, in company with Shekallamy and others, to Onandago again. He sets out on the 19th of May. The result of his negotiations, which opened on the 6th of June, may be seen in a letter of his, to which the reader is referred.

Here we will insert an anecdote, which we extract from Rupp's History of Berks and Lebanon Counties:

"It was probably while at Onondago this time, the current anecdote, related by Dr. Franklin, touching Weiser and Canassatego, which is found in Drake's Indian Biography, Book V., p. 12, 13, originated. As the

editors of the valuable Encyclopedia Perthensis have thought this anecdote worthy a place in that work, it has gained one here:

"'Dr. Franklin tells us a very interesting story of Canassatego, and at the same time makes the old chief tell another. In speaking of the manners and customs of the Indians, the doctor says: The same hospitality, esteemed among them as a principal virtue, is practised by private persons; of which Conrad Weiser, our interpreter, gave me the following instances: He had been naturalized among the Six Nations, and spoke well the Mohawk language. In going through the Indian country, to carry a message from our Governor to the Council at Onondago, he called at the habitation of Canassatego, an old acquaintance, who embraced him, spread furs for him to sit on, placed before him some boiled beans, and venison, and mixed some rum and water for his drink. When he was well refreshed, and had lit his pipe, Canassatego began to converse with him; asked how he had fared the many years since they had seen each other; whence he then came; what occasioned the journey, etc. Conrad answered all his questions; and when the discourse began to flag, the Indian, to continue it, said, 'Conrad, you have lived long among the white people, and know something of their customs: I have been sometimes at Albany, and have observed, that once in seven days they shut up their shops, and assemble in the great house; tell me what that is for; what do they do there?' 'They meet there,' says Conrad, 'to hear and learn good things.' 'I do not doubt,' says the Indian, 'that they tell you so; they have told me the same; but I doubt the truth of what they say, and I

will tell you my reasons. I went lately to Albany, to sell my skins, and buy blankets, knives, powder, rum, &c. You know I used generally to deal with Hans Hanson; but I was a little inclined this time to try other merchants. However, I called first upon Hans, and asked him what he would give for beaver. He said he could not give more than four shillings a pound; but, says he, I cannot talk on business now; this is the day when we meet together to learn good things, and I am going to the meeting. So I thought to myself, since I cannot do any business to-day, I may as well go to the meeting too, and I went with him. There stood up a man in black, and began to talk to the people very angrily; I did not understand what he said, but perceiving that he looked much at me, and at Hanson, I imagined that he was angry at seeing me there; so I went out, sat down near the house, struck fire, and lit my pipe, waiting till the meeting should break up. I thought, too, that the man had mentioned something of beaver, and suspected it might be the subject of their meeting. So when they came out, I accosted my merchant. 'Well, Hans,' says I, 'I hope you have agreed to give more than 4s. a pound.' 'No,' says he, 'I cannot give so much; I cannot give more than three shillings and sixpence.' I then spoke to several other dealers, but they all sung the same song,—three and sixpence, three and sixpence. This made it clear to me that my suspicion was right; and that whatever they pretended of meeting to learn good things, the purpose was to consult how to cheat Indians in the price of beaver. Consider but a little, Conrad, and you must be of my opinion. If they met so often to learn good

things, they would certainly have learned some before this time. But they are still ignorant. You know our practice. If a white man, travelling through our country, enters one of our cabins, we all treat him as I do you; we dry him if he is wet; we warm him if he is cold, and give him meat and drink, that he may allay his thirst and hunger; and we spread soft furs for him to rest and sleep on: we demand nothing in return. But if I go into a white man's house at Albany, and ask for victuals and drink, they say, get out, you Indian dog. You see they have not yet learned those little good things, that we need no meetings to be instructed in, because our mothers taught them to us when we were children; and therefore it is impossible their meetings should be, as they say, for any such purpose, or have any such effect: they are only to contrive the cheating of Indians in the price of beaver.'"

In October he is in New York, surrounded by Chiefs. In December he is directed by the Governor, at the suggestion of the Council, to employ scouts among the Shamokin Indians "to watch the enemy's movements, and to engage the whole body of Indians there to harass them in their march. The pay or reward to be given them, in all such transactions, to be entrusted to his own good judgment to determine."

A slight intermission of missionary travel seems to have been granted him during the year 1746. But it was by no means an idle year. As farmer, Justice of the Peace and Interpreter, he found enough to do. It would prove a difficult task to find a character whose record presents a less broken chain.

In 1747 the Proprietary Governor, John Penn, dies.

He is charged in June to carry the sad news to the Indians at Shamokin. In October he writes to Secretary Peters and advices that a handsome present should be made to the Indians on the Ohio and Lake Erie * * * "since they, by their situation, were capable of doing much mischief if they should turn to the French."

And in November he is found again at Shamokin. This time Shekallamy, his old friend and friend of the Province, is in the deep waters of affliction. Conrad Weiser's heart was not the one that could pass by on the other side, or even but come and look upon him. "I arrived," says he, "at Shamokin on the 9th, about noon. I was surprised to see Shekallamy in such a condition as my eyes beheld. He was hardly able to stretch forth his hand to bid me welcome. In the same condition was his wife—his three sons not quite so bad, but very poorly; also one of his daughters and two or three of his grand-children. All had the fever. There were three buried out of the family a few days before, namely: Cajadis, Shekallamy's son-in-law, who had been married to his daughter above fifteen years, and was reckoned the best hunter among all the Indians, and two others. I administered medicine to them, under the direction of Dr. Græme. Shekallamy soon recovered from his sickness. The medicine had a very good effect. * * * Four persons thought themselves as good as recovered; but, above all, Shekallamy was able to go about with me, by a stick, before I left Shamokin, which was on the 12th, in the afternoon."

"I must, in conclusion," he goes on to say, "recommend, as an object of charity, Shekallamy. He is extremely poor. In his sickness the horses have eaten all

the corn. His clothes he gave to the Indian doctors to cure him and his family; but all did no good. He has nobody to hunt for him, and I cannot see how the poor old man can live. He has been a true servant to the Government, and may still be, if he lives to get well again. As the winter is coming on, I think it would not be amiss to send him a few blankets, or match-coats, and a little powder and lead. If the Government would be pleased to do it, I would send my sons with it to Shamokin, before the cold weather comes." This is the parable of the 'Good Samaritan' in a practical way. He had from his thorough acquaintance with the Gospel, as Muhlenberg says, learned the full import of the admonition of St. James, and failed not to realize it on this poor Indian.

His prayer for charity was not unheeded, either. £16 were given him, which his sons promptly delivered to the unfortunate family.

He informed Secretary Peters that the present, intended for the Ohio Indians, had been dealt out with too sparing a hand. The Council regretted that it had already been forwarded, as it was, but assured him that no further action would be taken in this direction without consulting him; and requested him to attend the Council at Philadelphia, in view of a conference with the Ohio Warriors.

In November he speaks of his timely arrival at Paxton, to prevent the Indians about there from going over to the French.

His temperance principles came to the surface again and again. He does not look with favor on the liquor traffic with the Indians. "It is an abomination before God and man," as he puts it.

About the close of 1747 and beginning of 1748, a mission to Ohio was spoken of. The Provinces of Virginia and Maryland were asked to join with Pennsylvania in preparing a suitable bribe for the Indians dwelling on the banks of the Ohio river, who were allied to the Six Nations. This Province alone gathered about ten thousand pounds for this and similar purposes. Conrad Weiser was immediately thought of as the envoy. He endeavored to excuse himself from performing so long and hazardous a journey. But he was finally prevailed on to undertake it, through the earnest words of Secretary Peters. The enterprise was postponed, however, until the 11th day of August, 1748, when he set out from his home at Tulpehocken. We have not the space to remark on all the thrilling incidents, but must refer the reader to his Journal. By the 2d day of October he arrives safe at his home.

In the month of April, 1749, his commission as Justice of the Peace was renewed. By the first day of July he is in Philadelphia, interpreting for the Indians of various Tribes. In August Governor Hamilton speaks thus to the Board:

"Mr. Weiser having defrayed the expenses of the last Indians, in their journey to and from this city, I advanced him the sum of £60 on his going way. He must, by this time, have laid out a considerable sum more, which you will please to order payment of. And tho' from your long knowledge of his merits, it might be unnecessary in me to say anything in his favor, yet as the last set of Indians did damage to his plantation, and he had abundant trouble with them and is likely to meet much more on this occasion, I cannot excuse my-

self from most heartily recommending it to your mind, to make him a handsome reward for his services."

He continued busy with his tawny friends during the entire month, mediating, negotiating, pacifying and laboring in the service.

In this year he, with Secretary Peters, aided by the magistrates of the county, the delegates of the Six Nations, one Chief of the Mohawks, and Andrew Montour, the Interpreter from Ohio, whom Weiser had recommended to the Board as a person of capacity, because of his long residence among the Iroquois, was directed to proceed to Cumberland county, to drive forth certain white squatters and intruders on Indian ground. We, accordingly, find him a member of the Board of Conference, at that place, on the 17th of May, 1750. The balance of the month and a part of July, again, is consumed with some Conestogoe Indians and the Twightees. Indeed it were, perhaps, more proper to note his rare visits home, than his goings abroad, since he seems to be forever roaming at large, whilst his arrivals at home are more like angels' visits. He is the Indian Agent, in fact, during these years. The President of the Province of Virginia, Honorable Thomas Lee, requests him to proceed to Onondago, in August, as usual, on Indian affairs. After an absence of two months he returns "in perfect health, on the first day of October." During this trip he visited his relatives and friends in the Province of New York, his earlier home, and recommends the nephew, John Picket, to the Mohawks as his successor, who resided about one mile from Canawadagy.

In May, 1751, the Governor designed sending him on a second mission to Ohio. He answers, from Tul-

pehocken, that his presence is more necessary, during the approaching Fall, at Albany, and suggests that substitutes be sent, which request was granted him. In June, however, we find him already at Albany on official business, and in August at Philadelphia again, talking Indian and English, as usual.

In June, 1752, when Moravian missionaries designed to operate on the Six Nations and request suitable passports, Conrad Weiser is first consulted in the matter, a circumstance which shows still more plainly how perfectly the whole Indian territory, and all matters related thereto, lay under his hand.

Governor Dinwiddie was fearing the presages of the coming storm in 1753, and requests his presence at Albany in behalf of Virginia. He must needs go to the Mohawk country, too. He set out from his home in Heidelberg, July 24th; arrives at New York by the first day of August—"being taken ill, I sent my son Sammy with one Henry Van der Ham to Flushing, on Long Island, to wait on Governor Clinton to deliver Gov. Hamilton's letters. August 7th, took passage on board a sloop to Albany." By the close of August he returns to Philadelphia. At Carlisle a part of September is spent with Chiefs of the Six Nations and other Tribes. Conrad Weiser and his Indian friends seemed to be flitting about, here, there and everywhere.

But the spare days at home were devoted no less zealously to improvements. He subscribes to a petition for a highway from Reading to Easton. And, as if the man had not a sufficient number of burdens on his shoulders, a company of benevolent men of London, forming a scheme for the instruction of German youths,

constituted a General Board of Trustees for its execution, in which the following list of names was made to stand :

Gov. James Hamilton, Chief Justice Allen, Richard Peters, Secretary of the Province, Benjamin Franklin, Esq., Conrad Weiser and Rev. William Smith, D. D. The Reverend Michael Schlatter was constituted Visitor General by the Board.

The wonder is that the man did not succumb under the heavy load before this date. We merely sketched his shiftings, from one to several hundred miles distant, his trials, duties and labors. But the mere recital is already fearful. Hardly any one of his cotemporaries held out so long, even under less pressure. Men of his own race retire and die. The hardy Indian, indeed, bends his back and bows his head. Still he clings to life and duty.

CHAPTER XV.

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR. CONRAD WEISER, SUPERINTENDENT OF THE INDIAN BUREAU. COLONEL. HIS DEATH OFFICIALLY ANNOUNCED. 1754–1760.

King William's (1689–1697), Queen Anne's (1702–1713) and King George's war (1744–1748) were followed by the French and Indian war, which extended its bloody trail from 1754 to 1763. The cause of the last season of carnage was, the region west of the Allegheny mountains, along the Ohio river. The French territory bent around from Quebec to New Orleans. The English occupied a narrow strip along the coast one thousand miles in length.

"As unto the bow the cord is," so these tracts were the one to the other. Both parties claimed the disputed ground, regardless of the Indians, who were the real proprietors after all. The French encroached on English parts by breaking up old forts long established and planting new ones. Early in the Spring they became still more aggressive at Port Qu Quesne (Pittsburg), which was the key to the region west of the Alleghenies. As long as this point was held by them, Virginia and Pennsylvania were a battle-field. The Colonies spent $16,000,000 in this war, and suffered such horrid Indian cruelties as never were and never will be told.

Washington and Braddock were the principal figures

on the field; Benjamin Franklin was the central head in the Provincial Cabinet, and Conrad Weiser was Superintendent of the Indian Department. In April, 1754, the Governor sent Conrad Weiser to Shamokin, on a mission of inquiry and conciliation among the Chiefs over some of the Six Nations. In June he accompanies Benjamin Franklin to Albany. These are some of Governor Hamilton's words: "I have, agreeably to your desire, sent Mr. Weiser, with the Commissioners, and directed him to do you all the service in his power, which he professes most willingly to do; and only requests that he may not be made use of as a principal Interpreter, inasmuch as from a disuse of the language he is no longer master of that fluency he formerly had, and, finding himself at a loss of proper terms to express himself, is frequently obliged to make use of circumlocution, which would pique his pride in the view of so considerable an audience. He says he understands the language perfectly when he hears it spoken, and will at all times attend and use his endeavor that whatever is said by the Indians be truly interpreted to the gentlemen. And in this respect I really think you may securely rely on his good sense and integrity."

This Council at Albany, lasting through June, July and part of August, was a very important one. Here the first 'Plan of Union' for the Colonies was suggested; more lands were purchased from the Indians and Deeds executed, to which instruments the names of Franklin, Weiser and others were subscribed.

In August he is sent to Aucquick, to learn the mind and relations of the Indian dwellers there. In December he aids the Governor in framing suitable messages to the Tribes.

In the beginning of 1755 (January) he is sent for "by express" to come to Philadelphia. Let it be borne in mind that "by express" did not mean a swift and easy-going air passage, but, at best, on horseback—which again meant, to go on foot by more than half the distance, leading the horse by the bridle. The Mohawks had brought news touching the Connecticut people, and Conrad Weiser was needed to talk it over. In June we find him to have been engaged in providing for his Indian friends, some forty-five miles above Shamokin, on the north-west branch of the Susquehanna. John Harris demands his presence, likewise, at this time on account of savage depredations. So, too, in July following, whilst acting in the capacity of a quarter-master for some needy Indians, the presence of the Owendotts at Philadelphia called him "by express" thither.

One would think that when the country had been in such a state of unrest, no one would be likely to dream of a religious conspiracy. Still, no less than five Justices of Berks county subscribed to a prayer, addressed to the Council, asking that a certain Catholic Chapel at Goshenhoppen be looked after, since there were rumors of Indians occupying it with arms. After some little inquiry it was found that there seemed to be but little foundation for such a rumor.

During this period, when sent for to come to Philadelphia in haste, he reports himself as indisposed. This is the second time that he complains of being unwell. He sends his son, Samuel, as a substitute, who had previously accompanied him on some of his expeditions. In August he is promptly at his post again, attending no less than three different Conferences. In September

Governor Morris sends him to Harris' Ferry. The month of October he spends at home, though his sons, Frederick and Peter, had to go to Shamokin in his stead. His household seems to have been in the employ of the Province, as well as he.

On the 31st day of October Governor Morris forwards on his commission as 'Colonel.' He accompanies the letter with some complimentary words: "I heartily commend your conduct and zeal, and hope you will continue to act with the same vigor and caution that you have already done, and that you may have a greater authority, I have appointed you a Colonel by a commission herewith. I have not time to give you any instructions with the commission, but leave it to your judgment and discretion, which I know are great, to do what is most for the safety of the people and service of the crown." Was this not a Carte-Blanche?

No one will imagine Conrad Weiser to have proven a mere ornamental Colonel, verily. He commanded a Regiment of volunteers from the county of Berks, and had command over the Second Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment, consisting of nine Companies. "He exerted himself by day and night, in the protection of his suffering neighbors and fellow-citizens, and repelling the savage Indians in their incursions. He was vigilant, brave and active, in the full sense of the terms. A number of forts and block houses were erected under his directions, on the frontiers of Lancaster and Berks. * * * He distributed his companies very judiciously —stationing one company at Fort Augusta, one at Hunter's Mills, seven miles above Harrisburg, on the Susquehanna; one-half company on the Swatara, at the

foot of the North Mountain; one company and a half at Fort Henry, close to the gap of the mountain, called the *Tolhea Gap;* one company at Fort William, near the forks of the Schuylkill river, six miles beyond the mountain; one company at Fort Allen, erected by Benjamin Franklin, at Gnadenhueten, on the Lehigh; the other three companies were scattered between the rivers Lehigh and Delaware, at the dispositions of the Captains, some at farm houses, others at mills, from three to twenty at a place."—(*Rupp.*)

But though a Colonel in active service, he dare not absent himself from the many Conferences and Treaty-makings which were being held at short intervals during these years. In November, 1755, he is in Philadelphia, with two hard cases on his hands—Scarrozady and drunken Tigrea. Here is a specimen of a speech:

"We tell you the French have a numerous alliance of other Indians, as well as the Delawares, in this war."

(Danced the war dance.)

"When Washington was defeated, we, the Delawares, were blamed as the cause of it. We will now kill. We will not be blamed without a cause. We make up three parties of Delawares. One party will go against Carlisle, one down the Susquehanna, and I myself, with another party, will go against Tulpehocken, to Conrad Weiser."

The revolted Delawares caused much anxiety to the Government, and Conrad Weiser was the only man who could effect anything with them. In December his letters and reports were forwarded, and thus another year came to its close.

Harris' Ferry claims his services during January of

1756. He accompanies Governor Morris and James Logan to Carlisle, during the same month, where a Conference was held. Back again to Harris' Ferry and Philadelphia in February. A good part of July is spent at Easton. Certain insinuations in Christian Sowers' paper, at Germantown, to the effect that the ill-will of the Indians had been excited by the dishonest and covetuous spirit of the Government, offends his honor, in September, for which he reports the editor and wants him punished. It turned out not quite as bad as he had thought, however, and he and Sowers were fast friends to the end of his life.

In October Shayetowah, John Shekallamy's brother, complains of having lost his friend Conrad Weiser, before the Board, and expresses a strong inclination to see him again. He might have seen him on this occasion, but, alas !—the old Interpreter is unwell for the third time. He could not travel, though asked to come 'by express.' Long exposure and age are beginning to tell, for he is now in his sixtieth year. His son, Samuel, is his proxy again, who, by the way, is styled "Captain Sam." But in November he had recruited and goes to Easton.

The Indians desire a Council to be held there, and Conrad Weiser so arranged it. The Governor did not fancy to go abroad and thought it unnecessary to gratify such whims of theirs. But Conrad knew better, and the proposed Council was held, which proved an important one, lasting nearly three weeks.

During this year he took up his residence in Reading, at the corner of Penn and Callowhill streets. In old times it was the principal hotel in the place. "Here,"

says the *Reading Times*, "the war song of the savage was sung, the war dance wound down and the calumet of peace finally smoked." The house was built in 1751 and known as the 'Wigwam.' Many a Conference was held within its walls, and Treaties effected under its roof, in the old Indian Agent's day. The walls are still standing up to the second story.

In 1757 he, with Logan, prepared the Governor's message to the Six Nations. In May he does the same service for a Council Member, Crogham, who undertook the task of replying to the Delaware Indians, but failed.

The condition of the frontier settlers was truly deplorable at this period. Sickness and savages made their lot a hard one, indeed. Appeals to the Government were made, but a deaf ear was turned to their cries. The following appeal we copy from Rupp's History of Berks and Lebanon Counties:

"Die hintern Einwohner zu Dopehocken bitten um eine Beysteurer, dasz sie mehr Wacten bezahlen kennen zu ihrer Sicherheit, weil die Festungen so weit auseinander liegen und die Vœlcker drinnen wenig Dienste thunn. Wer willen ist etwas zu steuern, der kann es ablegen in Lancaster bei Herrn Oterbein, und Herrn Gerock, Luth. Pred.; in New Hanover und Providentz by Mr. Muehlenberg and Leydig; in Madetsche by Dr. Abraham Wagner; in Goschenhoppen by Mr. Michael Reyer; in Germantown by Christoph Sauer, Sr., und in Philadelphia bey Hr. Hundshuh, und dabey schreiben, wie viel gegeben worden; und diese kœnnen es uebersenden an Col. Conrad Weiser; oder Peter Spycher, oder an Hr. Kurtz, wie es einem Jeden beliebt.

"Diejenigen, welche in Ruhe und Sicherheit ihre

Erndte haben kœnnen schneiden und heimbringen, haben Ursache, Gott davor zu danken."

That Conrad Weiser could not please every Indian may be seen from the following remarks of Teedyuscung, a Delawarian Chief, uttered in the month of July:

"I was deceived by Conrad Weiser, who promised to give me notice (to call on the Governor), but he broke his word with me. And if he could do it in this instance, he may do it in another."

The Governor plead a misunderstanding, and begged the Chief to suspend judgment till an explanation could be had. This occurred at Easton, where a protracted Council was held, and resulted in a Treaty. At a meeting of the Board, September 12th, Mr. Weiser was ordered to build a house for the Delaware Indians at Wyoming. The bloody-minded Teedyuscung was inclined to have a price fixed for scalps. By request, Conrad Weiser uttered his mind on the subject in these words: "It is my humble opinion that no encouragement should be given to the Indians for scalps, for fear we must then pay for our own scalps, and those of our fellow subjects, as will certainly be the case. Allow as much for prisoners as you please—rather more than was intended." He ever remained a humane man, though among the savages for a lifetime.

As to building a house at Wyoming, he seemed to be in doubt. At all events, he was unwilling to attend to it. "I am in a very low state of health, and cannot, without great hazard, undertake any journey."

Previous to this writing we find him, during 1757, at a Treaty-making in Lancaster, in May, and also again in Easton, in August. His rare appearance, during the

last two years, is explained by the part of the letter just quoted. It seems odd to the eye, that has accustomed itself to find his name on so many successive pages, now to find strange names, now of this man, then of that one, in his familiar room. But all things end.

In 1760 the Indian Agents at Fort Augusta inform the Council that John Shekallamy is anxious to see Conrad Weiser. The Secretary had written to him and asked him to take the trouble upon himself to go to Shamokin. The answer was that he could not go, but that he would send his son Samuel. And lo! his name appears never again as Interpreter.

There is a record, though, which we extract from the minutes of an Indian Conference held at Easton, and insert, as in good place, here. It bears the date August 3d, 1761, and reads thus:

"Seneca George stood up and spoke as follows:

"Brother Onas: We, the Seven Nations, and our cousins are at a great loss and sit in darkness, as well as you, by the death of Conrad Weiser, as since his death we cannot so well understand one another. By this belt we cover his body with bark.

"Brother Onas: Having taken notice of the death of Conrad Weiser, and the darkness it has occasioned amongst us, I now by this belt raise up another Interpreter, by whose assistance we may understand one another clearly. You know that in former times, when men grew old and died, we used to put others in their places. Now, as Conrad Weiser (who was a great man, and one-half a Seven Nation Indian and one-half an Englishman) is dead, we recommend it to the Governor to appoint his son (pointing to Samuel, then present) to

succeed him as an Interpreter, and, to take care of the Seven Nations and their cousins."

The Governor, James Hamilton, answered: "Brethren: We are very sensible, with you, that both of us have sustained a very heavy loss by the death of our old and good friend, Conrad Weiser, who was an able, experienced and faithful Interpreter, and one of the Council of the Seven Nations; and that since his death we, as well as you, have sat in darkness, and are at a great loss for want of well understanding what we say to one another. We mourn with you for his death, and heartily join in covering his body with bark.

"Brethren: Having thus paid our regards to our deceased friend, we cannot but observe with you, that there is a necessity of appointing some other person to succeed him, by whose assistance we may be enabled to find the true sense and meaning of what there may be occasion to say to one another, either in Council, or by letters or messages.

"Brethren: In conformity to the ancient custom of taking from among the relations of any man who dies, some fit person to supply his place (as Mr. Weiser was by adoption one of the Six Nations, though by birth one of us), we think you did well to cast your eyes upon one of his children; and, inasmuch as Samuel Weiser is the only one amongst them who has any knowledge of the Indian language, and has lived among you, we shall be glad to make trial of him for the present, and if we find him capable of serving in the office of Interpreter and in the management of Indian affairs (in both which capacities his father so well acquitted himself), we shall appoint him to that service. We look upon this choice

of yours as a mark of your grateful affection for Conrad Weiser, who was always your sincere friend, and we join this belt to yours in token of our concurrence as far as to make trial of him."

In a letter of Secretary Peters, dated Feb. 12, 1761, Philadelphia, we read: "Poor Mr. Weiser is no more; he died suddenly in the summer, and has not left any one to fill his place as Provincial Interpreter. His son, Samuel, has almost forgotten what little he knew."

Thus closes his Indian record. From 1724 to the end of his life he had been among, and in almost daily intercourse with the Indians, a period extending over forty-six years.

If Thomas Jefferson felt prompted to say of Lewis and Clarke and their brave companions, that they "deserved well of their country," who (from 1804–6) performed a journey of 3,000 miles, through an unexplored portion of the Continent, covered with Indian Tribes, we need not hesitate to affirm the same of Conrad Weiser, who did a greater thing, and in a still more difficult era of the country's history. In imitation of Charles Lamb we say:

> "When mortals, such as he was, die,
> Their place we may not well supply,
> Though we among a thousand try,
> With vain endeavor."

CHAPTER XVI.

CONRAD WEISER'S FAILING HEALTH. HIS DEATH. HIS BURIAL-PLACE.

During the last five years of his busy and trying life, Conrad Weiser showed signs of a wearing down and coming dissolution. On several occasions he could not respond to the call of Government, as we have seen, because of indisposition. When he was appointed Colonel in 1755, he was infirm—too much so to discharge the onerous duties of the office, one may say. His son-in-law says: "*Er war schon alt an Jahren, schwach an Leibeskraefften, etc.*" And yet, though verging on sixty, he seemed to perform with vigor and promptness all the functions of Interpreter, Justice and Soldier. He had lived too long and well to succumb at once. Men may not die when they will, nor always when they might. The sad privilege of shortening one's life implies the prerogative of lengthening it, too, in a measure. We may master circumstances to a degree, even though we are mastered by them finally. The state of his health had already indicated an abandonment of public life, when the burdens of a Colonelcy were imposed upon him; but the pressure from without and the patriotic impulse from within did not permit him to give up and retire.

However, all things end in this world, and we speak of the mighty as fallen, sooner or later. On September

19, 1759, he writes: "I am in a very low state of health, and cannot, without great hazard, undertake any journey." On the 24th day of the following November he signs and seals his last will and testament, an act in which man shows that he has learned to know himself a mortal. How plainly the confession is embodied in the adjunct "*last!*"

On the 12th day of July, 1760, eight months later, on a Saturday, as he left his home in Reading, in his average health, he was seized by a violent attack of colic, which ended his life on the following Sunday (13th), about the hour of noon. Thus died Conrad Weiser, July 13, 1760, on his farm at Womelsdorf. On the 15th, the Rev. John Nicholas Kurtz, Lutheran Pastor at Tulpehocken, Lebanon county, preached his funeral discourse on the two-fold text in Genesis 15:15, and Psalm 84:11–12: "*And thou shalt go to thy fathers in peace; thou shalt be buried in a good old age.*"—"*For the Lord God is a sun and shield: the Lord will give grace and glory: no good thing will He withhold from them that walk uprightly. O Lord of hosts, blessed is the man that trusteth in Thee.*"

Unfortunately Conrad Weiser owned a private burying-ground, in which his mortal remains were interred. The spot lies one-half mile east of the town of Womelsdorf, south of the turnpike-road. A rough-hewn sandstone, single and alone, stands over his dust. The following epitaph may, with difficulty, be deciphered:

"Dies ist die
Ruhe Stætte des

weyl. Ehren geachteten M. Conrad Weiser; derselbige ist gebohren 1696 den 2. November in Afstæt im

Amt Herrenberg im Wittenberger Lande, und gestorben
1760 den 13. Julius, ist
alt worden 63 Jahr,
8 Monat und 13 Tag."

Pastor Muhlenberg is probably the framer of this inscription.

It is held as true, that Indians frequently visited his tomb, for many years after, out of affectionate regard for their old friend.

I. D. Rupp, Esq., says he "visited the grave of Weiser, February 21, 1844, and was pained to see no enclosure or fence around the grave of so great and good a man." For the letter "M." in his epitaph we cannot account—if it is really an *M.* Our ancestors told us it stood for the German term *Mann—des geachteten Mannes, etc.*

A desolate tomb is a sad spectacle—but only for mortals, who see where they must shortly lie. Blessed are the dead, who heed it not.

Neither do the weight and shadows of great monuments contribute anything towards an immortality. There is no life in a stone, and it can create none. Pillars and shafts have never yet immortalized a dead man, though they do oftentimes entomb him all the more. The 'living dead' die no more, whilst the 'buried dead' are forgotten, even if the stone remain—to tell how dead they are. The Pyramids endure, but who may tell the Pharaohs in and underneath? The dust of Priestly lay long quite unostentatiously at Northumberland; yet his disciples could ever find it. Governor Simon Snyder's ashes are covered by a low prostrate marble, at Selinsgrove, without line or letter of an epitaph, and still his

grave is known. Only the 'dwellers in tombs' need imposing sentinels, less we know not where we tread.

Of what avail, then, are monuments? They ought to be planted as disinterested testimonials to worth and virtue. As proofs of an immortality, rather than as promoters of it, we value them. When they are challenged, more than imposed, are they appropriate only. As marks of the habitation of distinguished dust, they are not a mockery. There is a kinship between the mounds, manes and men, which Pagans, Mahommedans, Jews and Christians feel and acknowledge; and this bond the flame of cremation, even, may not dissolve.

After a little while and the grave of Conrad Weiser can no longer be known by Indian or white man. Some becoming mark there should be, on which to engrave the almost obliterated inscription:

"*This is the*
resting-place of
the once honored and respected
CONRAD WEISER,
who was born November 2d, A. D. 1696,
in Afstaedt, County of Herrenberg, Wuertemberg,
and died July 13th, A. D. 1760,
aged 63 *years,* 8 *months and* 13 *days.*"

A respectable citizen of Womelsdorf writes: "If any man in Berks county deserves a monument, it is Conrad Weiser."

CHAPTER XVII.

CONRAD WEISER AS A RELIGIOUS CHARACTER.

Conrad Weiser was a Lutheran *von Haus aus*. His ancestry had been born and reared in this persuasion. He forgets not to tell us of his baptism at Kueppingen. The Reverend Christopher Bockenmeyer, Lutheran minister, baptized a number of his children. But back of that formation, which tradition and education had established in his constitution, lay a sensitive and deep religious temperament, inherited, perhaps, from his excellent mother, which began to manifest itself already in early childhood, became more and more apparent in the period of youth, and remained patent during his long and trying man-age. In his manuscript-record he adopted the habit of crowning every paragraph with apt and pointed scriptural selections, which betrays the spirit that animated his soul. In his fifteenth year he said: "I became so much attached to my Bible that I looked upon it as my comfort, and it became my book of delight." We feel like denominating him a religious enthusiast, and that of the Pietistic order. The hymns of his composition are of this tenor. Hence it was that his piety carried him again and again beyond his denominational setting. Whether it was because of the fact that his beloved Anna Eva had been of the Reformed Church, or because he was more partial to Pastor Hægar than to Parson Kocherthal, we have it, at all events, over his

own hand, that he was given in marriage by the Reformed clergyman, at Schoharie.

We know little of significance, touching his religious history, until we find him at Tulpehocken, some six years. In the year 1735 his enthusiasm breaks forth in a noteworthy manner. The advent of Conrad Beisel, a bogus monk and founder of the German Seventh Day Baptists, marks an epoch in his spiritual life. The unsettled and formal condition of the Germanic Churches in Pennsylvania had doubtless told most sadly on the morals and religion of their membership. An excitement was challenged, produced and fostered. Beisel placed his "candle-stick in the benighted region of Tulpehocken," and with the aid of his sanguine disciples succeeded in creating an awakening. John Peter Miller, a Reformed Missionary from the Palatinate, in 1726, officiated as Pastor in Tulpehocken at this period. He and his Elders and prominent members, as well as Conrad Weiser and his Lutheran associates, devoted themselves heartily to the work of 'Revival,' and were themselves eddied into and engulfed by it. During May of 1735 Pastor Miller, Conrad Weiser, the Chorister, three Elders of the Tulpehocken Church, and a number of family-heads were initiated into the Association by immersion. This episode is as 'the fly in the ointment,' in the otherwise fair life of the man and hero; and becomes especially objectionable in view of the radicalism with which he pursued his new and pseudo religion, to the injury of his former creed. On a certain day Miller, Weiser and others assembled at the house of Godfried Fidler's, and after having collected the Heidelberg Catechism, Luther's Catechism, the Psalter and several

other time-honored Books of Devotion, burned them to ashes. Like all perverts from the faith of their forefathers, he showed his love and zeal for his adopted fanaticism, not so much in deeds of charity and proofs of regeneration, as by dishonoring the parental theory and practice by which he came to a knowledge of fundamental truth pertaining to God, and man's relation to Him. There is a genuine conversion possible for man, and such a radical one, too, as involves a very antipodal position to the one previously occupied; but in all cases of genuine revolutions of this kind, a convert will not feel himself obliged to transgress 'the first commandment with promise' by kicking his spiritual mother. Such conduct argues a perversion, rather than a conversion, in every instance. John Philip Bœhm, Reformed Pastor in Whitpain township, Philadelphia county, in his blast against the Baptists, and efforts of Count Zinzendorf, in 1742, says with much sarcasm of Conrad Weiser: "*Der ist, wie die gemeine Sage ist, ein 'Justice.'* * * * *Und es ist noch nicht bekannt worden, dasz er, seit der Zeit, durch Buse widergekehret und sich widerum zu seiner vorhin gehabten Lutherischen Religion verfueget.*"

His fall may be somewhat mitigated by the fact, that Pastor Miller, who had been an educated and zealous laborer in the Church and a student from the University of Heidelberg, led the way from home. The shepherd led the sheep astray. But this only for a short season. Conrad Weiser held out but for a very brief period in his new quarters, as Beisel writes: "He was soon entrapped in the net of his own wisdom." This imitation monk had forebodings, it seems, already from the start, of his coming apostasy, in consequence of some curious

pedal examination he had made; had warned him, accordingly, of the peculiar temptation to which he stood exposed, and endeavored to prevent the relapse. "But, in spite of all this caution he fell a victim to the bloodthirsty avenger. Yea, though he had subjected himself to a most vigorous penance, which completely emaciated him, and suffered his beard to grow to such a length that no one knew him any longer, and had voluntarily contributed of his possessions for the furtherance of the Society's welfare—still, he fell away."

But, after going so far from home, it is hardly possible to again arrive there in so short a time. The brethren of the homestead will, at all events, not hold them above suspicion. Hence we may term Conrad Weiser a sort of religious vagrant, ever after. His spiritual activity seems to be all circumference without centre. He is all things to all men, without being anything to himself, in a religious sense—perhaps as dangerous a spiritual state as one can well occupy.

In 1738 his ardor and zeal are enlisted in the grand ideal of converting the Indians, in company with Bishop Spangenberger, David Zeisberger and Shebosch, Moravian Missionaries. Like a full-built herald of the cross he accompanies them to Onondago. So, too, he becomes a willing yoke-fellow to Count Zinzendorf, in 1742, on a similar errand to Bethlehem, Shamokin and Philadelphia. He was so full of the Moravian spirit just now, that he instructed Pyrlacus, Buettner and Zander in the Mohawk tongue, in order to qualify them to preach the Gospel among the Iroquois. Once he writes of the success of this movement in these words: "I thought myself seated in a company of primitive Christians."

But in 1743 his ardor seems to cool in this direction, too. A Providential man appears on the American territory, who brings the erring man back to the Church of his fathers. The Rev. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, D. D., who had emigrated in 1742 as the Apostle of Lutheranism in America, visited the Tulpehocken region in 1743. Doubtless both Muhlenberg and Weiser found in each other something of complemental parts. They learned to know and esteem one another at once. Their friendship ripened into a relationship—that of father-in-law and son-in-law. This is very delicately told by the Lutheran Patriarch after this manner: "*Im Jahr* 1743 *ward unser Freund, Conrad Weiser, bekannt mit dem ersten hereingesandten Deutschen Evangelischen Prediger, gewann ihn und seine Lehre lieb und gab ihm* 1745 *seine aelteste Tochter zur Ehegenossin. Diese Freundschafts-Verbindung verursachte dann und wann einen Besuch und eine anhaltende Correspondenz; beide wurden, so viel Gott Gnaden verliehen, auf die Seelen-Erbauung gerichtet, wobei er verschiedene Jahre ziemlich munter und lebhaft im Glauben schien. Die heilige Bibel war ihm durch und durch bekannt.*"

The influence of his illustrious son-in-law unquestionably did much towards restoring the spiritually wayward man to his proper equilibrium. We hear no more of his religious wandering. But to steady and properly root again one who has so fearfully uprooted himself is no easy matter. We fear Conrad Weiser was never himself again since his Beisel experience. Pastor Muhlenberg's words in reference to the close of his father-in-law's career have an ambiguous ring. Hear and judge:

"Als aber der gefährliche Krieg in diesem Theile

der Welt zwischen den Franzosen und England ausbrach und unsere benachbarten wilden Nationen meist bundbruechig worden, den Feinden zufielen und unsere Grenzen verwuesteten, gerieth Conrad Weiser in neue Versuchungen. Die Landes Obrigkeit verordnete ihn zum Obrist Leutnant. Die Aemter sind hier bisweilen nur fuer Personen, und die Personen nicht fuer die Aemter geschaffen.

"Und weil man seiner nun besonders in diesen Umstænden benœthigt war und ihm noch viel mehr Muehe und Last auflegen wollte, so sollte das Salarium einst Obrist Leutnants Alles ersetzen. . . . Diese Bedienung, Charge, oder Last, wie man es nennen mag, that ihm und seinen Kindern mehr Schaden an Seel und Leib, als einiger zuvor. Er war schon alt an Jahren, schwach an Leibeskræften, der hæuslichen Pflege gewohnt, muszte viel abwesend von Haus sein und auch oft mit den Vornehmen in der Stadt und europæischen Kriegshelden wegen den Indianer Sachen conferiren.

"Der allergnædigste und erbarmungsvolle Mittler und Menschenfreund, der nicht Lust hat an des Menschenverderben, erhielt sein natuerliches Leben bis fast zum Ende des wunderlichen Krieges, und verlieh ihm noch eine besondere Gnadenfrist, so dasz er Zeit hatte, sich zu recolligiren; im Blute des Lammes die Befleckung des Geistes abzuthun, seine Kleider hell zu machen, seine Seeligkeit mit Furcht und Zittern zu schaffen und ein gnædiges Ende zu erwarten. Es kostet gewisz viel, ein Christ zu sein und zu bleiben."

The weather-vane character of his creed is still further proclaimed by the two items following, which we find entered in the Bible of our late father, to wit:

a) During the razing and rebuilding of the Reformed Church edifice at Reading, Berks county, the name of Conrad Weiser was found on the list of the Building Committee.

b) From a letter of Bishop Spangenberg, dated Toamencin, Montgomery county, Nov. 8, 1737, we gather this extract: "I have made the acquaintance of a certain man, Conrad Weiser, who was nurtured in the faith of the Reformed Church, but who has for some time been identified with the Seventh Day Baptists."

CHAPTER XVIII.

CONRAD WEISER'S WILL. HIS POSSESSIONS. HIS SONS AND DAUGHTERS. HIS POSTERITY.

Conrad Weiser had been of a prolific ancestry, and was himself the father of fifteen children, eight of whom seem to have died in their minority years. His seven surviving ones, made mention of in his last Will and Testament, were: Philip, Frederick, Samuel, Benjamin, Peter, Anna Maria and Margaret.

Their father having died, possessed of nearly one thousand acres of land, which were by divise shared out among themselves, the sons naturally took to farming as their principal employment. The manner in which he disposed of his possessions, and to whom, we can best gather from his Will:

"In the name of God. Amen. I, Conrad Weiser, of the town of Reading, in the county of Berks, in the Province of Pennsylvania, gentleman, being of perfect health of body and of sound and disposing mind and memory (blessed be God for the same), yet considering the uncertainty of human life and desirous to quit myself as far as I may of the cares of this world, do make this my last will and testament, hereby revoking and making void all other and former wills by me heretofore made. *Imprimis.* I do will and order that such debts as may be owing by me at the time of my decease with my funeral expenses be paid by my executors here-

inafter named as soon as conveniently may be after my decease. *Item.* I give, devise and bequeath unto my beloved wife, Ann Eve, the messuage and lot whereon I now live in the town of Reading, to hold to her, my said wife, during the term of her natural life, and after my said wife's decease I will and order the said messuage and lot to be sold by my executors or the survivor or survivors of them for the best price can be had for the same, and the money arising from the sale thereof to be divided among all my children or their representatives, share and share alike. *Item.* I give, devise and bequeath unto my said wife Ann(e) and to her heirs for ever my lot of ground situate in Callowhill street, in the said town of Reading, marked in the plan of said town, No. 72. *Item.* I give and bequeath unto my said wife an annuity or yearly sum of twenty pounds (interest on) for and during her natural life, or until she marry again, to be paid as hereinafter directed. *Item.* I give and bequeath unto my said wife two of my best feather beds, of her own choice; all my kitchen utensils, and the sum of fifty pounds, current money of Pennsylvania, to be paid to my said wife by my executors within one month after my decease, which I do declare to be in lieu of her dower and full discharge of all demands she may make on my estate. I give, devise and bequeath unto my four sons, Philip, Frederick, Samuel and Benjamin, that is to say to each of my said sons and his heirs for ever, the part of a share to him allotted in a Draft Plan signed with my own proper hand and to this will annexed of all that my plantation in Heidelberg, in the said county of Berks, and my several tracts of land lying contigious, containing in the whole about eight hun-

dred and ninety acres,—they, my said sons, paying each of them the sum of two hundred and fifty pounds lawful money of the said Province unto my executors, for the use hereinafter mentioned, within one year after my decease."

Then follows the apportionments and payments, as per plan or draft.

"*Item.* I give and bequeath unto my children, Philip, Frederick, Peter, Samuel, Benjamin, Maria Muhlenberg and Margaret Finker, all those my lands lying beyond the Kittochtany mountain, and all my grants or sights to lands lying beyond the same mountains, to be divided in manner following, that is to say (the lands being described) with the Proviso—I do order and direct my executors to secure out of the whole capital the annuity or yearly sum of twenty pounds hereinbefore bequeathed to my said wife in such manner as shall be agreeable to her and correspondent to this my will. And I do will and order that the shares of my children be paid to them respectively within twelve months after my decease, or sooner if the same can conveniently be done. But if my son Benjamin should then be under age, it is my will and order that his brethren put the same to interest, and mortgage it to his best advantage during his minority."

Other provisions follow relative to his grand-son, Israel Heintzelman. "*Item.* One hundred pounds out of the share allotted to his mother, which shall be put to interest and managed for his best advantage until he arrives at the age of twenty-one years, and then be paid to him with the profits thereof, and the remaining part of my said daughter Margaret's share of the residuary

part of my estate, I do order and direct my executors to put the same to interest on good security and pay her yearly the interest thereof during her natural life. Provided, nevertheless, if my said daughter doth educate her children in the principles and according to the rites of the Roman Church. In such case (or after the death of the said Margaret) it is my will and I do order and direct my executors or the survivors of them, with the consent of my other children as soon as the same is manifest to them, to retain the interest of money of my said daughter's share and manage the same to the best advantage for the use of her children, to be paid to them in equal shares, together with the principal, as they shall respectively attain the age of twenty-one years. And I do constitute and appoint my wife Ann(e) Eva and my sons Peter and Samuel executors of this my last will and testament. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this twenty-fourth day of November in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine.

CONRAD WEISER. [Seal.]

Subscribing witnesses: James Whitehead,
Abraham Brossus,
James Biddle."

This will was sworn to by James Biddle and Abraham Brossus, July 31, 1760, on which day it was registered, in the "General Office, Reading, Berks County."

"Letters testamentary in common form under the seal of the said office on the will above written of the said Conrad Weiser were granted to Ann(e) Eve Weiser, Peter Weiser and Samuel Weiser therein named, they being first solemnly sworn thereto according to law."

Inventory thereof to be exhibited on or before the 31st day of August and an account of their administration when thereunto required.

Registered and examined by James Reed.

The plan or explanation of the draft is appended.

On the corner of Penn and Callowhill streets, Reading, stood Weiser's house, erected in 1751. It was for many years used as a wigwam, where the indians met for treaty. After his decease it was used as a dwelling-house and partly as a tavern up to 1798, when John Keim and sons commenced business as Iron and Hardware Merchants and was known as "The White Store," which they continued up to 1803; by G. B. D. Keim to 1810; by B. Keim until 1817; by G. B. D. Keim and his son to 1837; by Keim and Stichter to 1841; by Stichter and McKnight to 1858, when it came in possession of the present proprietor, Mr. Jos. L. Stichter.

The deed conveying the property from the executors of Conrad Weiser to Wm. Bird is dated Sept. 30, 1795, and recites the deed granted by the Penn's in 1751 to Weiser. The consideration was £554, 5s., subject to a ground rent of 7s. Another conveys the same by Mark Bird and Mary Bird to Nicholas Keim (William having died intestate). Another, January 16, 1799, to John Keim. Another to G. B. D. Keim. There is also a quit claim deed from the attorney of the Penn's to G. B. D. Keim, 1826. Another deed, 1842, from G. B. D. Keim to Joseph L. Stichter and James McKnight for the same property.

From the foregoing instrument it will be known that the sire left a goodly territory of land to be divided among his children. From the good-will which the In-

dians invariably cherished for him, as well as from the flattering recommendations which the authorities were ever ready to impress, as an imprimatur, on his official acts, we are warranted to believe that Conrad Weiser came honestly by his thousand acres. Lieut. Governor Thomas says of him, April 25, 1743: "Our Indian Interpreter is a man *of great probity* and a thorough knowledge in Indian affairs." We have the record of a fair negotiation and purchase of a good portion of his possessions, besides, preserved in some of his letters. To Secretary Peters he writes, July 17, 1748: "As Mr. Parsons will (I hope) deliver this to you, with a draft of that piece of land he laid out for me, by your order (I find it is above 400 acres) he will cut off on the side of the hill, if you require it, so much as you shall think fit. But I would rather have it all, and pay to the Honorable Proprietors, as they (or you) shall think fit. I don't doubt but what their Honors will let me have it as soon as any other man. Therefore, I pray, let it be conveyed to me and I will do what will be required of me. The other small tract I had surveyed to me by Proprietary Warrant, on the usual conditions; also the right of William Eonst to 37 acres joining. I would have a patent, for a good part is paid; the rest I will pay before I take patent out of your or Mr. Lordner's hands."

We are the more concerned to bring to light the way and manner by which Conrad Weiser came by such a large number of acres, for various reasons. First of all, no Indian Agent seems to be above suspicion, now-a-days especially. Furthermore, it has been whispered and insinuated through taking anecdotes, at all events, that our hero, too, as well as all other Indian traders,

knew how to defraud poor Lo. The story which has been orally perpetuated down to the day that now is, and which ever and anon crops forth in print, touching his wily procedure, is likely to confirm one in the belief that he was not clear of stratagem. It is of this tenor: "Shekallamy came to Conrad Weiser and informed him of his glorious dream." "I dreamed," said Shekallamy, "that Tarachawagon (Weiser) had presented me with a rifle." Conrad, of course, handed over to his dusky friend the coveted weapon, suspecting all the while that Shekallamy had a dream—'which was not all a dream.'

A few days later Conrad Weiser had a dream, and told Shekallamy so. The Chief asked for its revelation. "I dreamed," said Tarachawagon, "that Shekallamy presented me with the large and beautiful island nestled in the Susquehanna river." The non-plussed Chief at once made over his favorite island—the Isle of Que,—but added, "Conrad, let us never dream again!"

We belive the whole to be a mere make-up. It is true, the Isle of Que, on which a part of Selinsgrove now stands, had been owned by the old Interpreter, and that it remained for one or two generations in the possession of his direct descendants; but there is nothing to warrant us in saying that his title rested on a mere nightly speculation. On the other hand, it is true that Shekallamy had been a very poor Chief, so poor that Conrad Weiser intercedes for him, as an object of charity, before the Council at Philadelphia. It is necessary, before we may credit the story, to set aside all the testimony, volunteered from all parties of his day, in confirmation of his uprightness, probity and honor. To accept the good report which Conrad Weiser challenged

for himself in his open, working day, and in the same breath, as it were, to admit that he would rob an Indian Chief, in such a wholesale manner, recommending him as a pensioner to the Government besides—is absurd.

We are more ready to trust a tradition which our late father never tired of repeating, and runs thus:

"Conrad Weiser once sat resting on a log in his extensive forest land. Presently an Indian, who had stealthily approached, squatted down hard by him. Conrad moved aside somewhat; the intruder pressed harder against him. Again Conrad granted more room; but the Indian pressed still harder on him. Then Conrad demanded an explanation of his strange and rude procedure. The Indian answered: "Thus the whites did to the Indians. They lighted unbidden on our lands. We moved on; they followed. We still moved, and they still followed. We are moving onward now, and they are following after. Conrad, I will not push you from the log entirely. But will your people cease their crowding, e're we roll into the waters?" This is at all events plausible. And if any of our readers desire some proof—let them look all around! This is, in Indian phrase, more than "the singing of a bird." It has abundant authenticity.

We have not succeeded in tracing Conrad Weiser's descendants to any satisfactory degree, either in line or locality. American life has not yet crystallized the *family*. Well-grounded facts, reliable traditions and legitimate inferences, nevertheless, lead us to believe that his sons quartered themselves on their paternal grounds originally, with the design of devoting themselves to farming, and from these several centres spread over the

counties of Berks, Lebanon, Northumberland, and their offspring again into Dauphin, York, Franklin, Lehigh, Montgomery and Bucks, as well as into the States of New York and Ohio. His posterity has become quite large, and in more than one instance respectable and significant.

All his sons inherited their sire's glowing patriotism and gave evidence of it during the wars of their day. One was shot through the lungs, at the battle of Brandywine, but survived. It was frequently mentioned in our hearing that the brave man never realized his wound until his boot had filled with blood. The bullet was carried with him to his grave. We cannot tell which son he was, with certainty.

Samuel, after having walked in the ways of his father for a while, both before and after Conrad's decease, abandoned forever the governmental and political arena. Of his children we have learned nothing.

Philip, who is said to have been the wounded soldier, settled on that part of the inheritance on which the town of Womelsdorf now stands—the homestead. His son, Jabeth, succeeded him, a daughter of whom (*Mrs. Elizabeth Lewars*)† is now living at Hamburg, Pa. She was born June 16, 1788, and is doubtless the oldest surviving descendant of Conrad Weiser. She has in her possession a large silver spoon one hundred and fifty years old, which was one of a half dozen bought and presented to the daughter of Conrad Weiser, Mrs. Muhlenberg, as a bridal gift.* We are very sure of owning a mate to it; but it puzzles us greatly to account for the

*NOTE.—We are indebted for these particulars to the Rev. W. F. P. Davis, of Reading, Pa.

†See Note A at end of Chapter.

promiscuous distribution of the set, as well as for its escape from the Muhlenberg household.

Philip was the father of another son, *Conrad*, whose family-roll we are enabled to enter in full. He raised a group of twelve, four of whom died in younger years. The surviving eight children were Benjamin, Frederick, John Conrad, Daniel, Sophia (Schawber), Hannah (Rhoads), Mary (Holstein), Catherine (Bassler.) This grand-son of our hero located along the Susquehanna river, in what is now Snyder county, at Selinsgrove, a part of which town had once been known as Weisersburg. The Rev. Dr. Daniel Weiser had been the last surviving member of this line. He died December 9, 1875. There are a number of grand and great-grandchildren of the third Conrad still living in that district.

The same Philip had also a third son, who bore his father's name, of whose history we are not able to record anything.

Benjamin, the youngest son of the older Conrad, seems to have inherited the greater share of his father's roving propensity. He was pursued by the phantom of recovering on his sire's possessions in the State of New York. In a letter to Governor Simon Snyder, April 2, 1788, he says in reference to the matter in prospect: "Since I saw you last I saw a good deal of the world (that is, different sorts of people.) I was last summer at Mohawk river, but could not get matters settled to my mind. I might have gotten a considerable sum for my right, though. I shall now, in a few days, set off again, and am sure of having it done pretty nigh to my satisfaction." This letter had been written from Providence, one of the points along the "shore of New Eng-

land," where, according to Muhlenberg's words, his grand-father had wandered prior to his last visit to Pennsylvania.

For many long years the idea of reclaiming the Schoharie lands was entertained by some of Conrad Weiser's descendants. We are glad to record, though, that the same game of 'dispossessing' the later occupants was not played on them, which caused such sorrow to the original squatters. "*Besser Unrecht zu leiden, als ungerecht zu streiten.*" (*See Note B at end of Chapter.*)

We have not been able to gather any notices of the other sons of Conrad Weiser, or of their posterity. *Peter* and *Frederick* can, therefore, be but mentioned.

Of the daughters we present some spare notes. The eldest, *Anna Maria*, became the wife of the honored and venerable Lutheran Patriarch, Rev. Dr. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg. The ramifications of his offspring have not been furnished us.

His second daughter, *Margaret*, became the wife of a Mr. Heintzelman, by her first marriage. Conrad Weiser, in a letter to Secretary Peters, May 19, 1755, says as much. Speaking of two Indian lads, he writes: "If you could prevail with Mr. Heintzelman, my son-in-law, for a few weeks' board with him, it would be agreeable to the lads, because my daughter is somewhat used to the Indians and understands here and there a word."

In his Will he also makes mention of his grand-son, Israel Heintzelman.

It appears, however, that she was left a widow before the death of her father, and that, by a second marriage, she became Mrs. Finker. As he calls her "Mar-

garet Finker" in his testamentary instrument, it has been surmised that she had entered upon her second widowhood already prior to the demise of Conrad Weiser.

If a typographical error may not be inferred, we might fix the date of Mrs. Anna Eve Weiser's death on the 10th day of June, 1781, at the estimated age of 85 years. Her remains are presumed to lie by those of her honored husband.

With these spare and very unsatisfactory notes, touching the posterity of the subject of this memoir, we must rest content. Perhaps they may serve as an incentive, in the minds of those who are more directly interested, to train up a *Family Tree* from the roots here inserted.

P. S. Col. J. L. Stichter, Esq., of the city of Reading, the present proprietor of Conrad Weiser's homestead, now known as "*The White Store*," addressed a letter to Col. J. Ross Snowden, Cor. Sec. of the Historical Society, Sept. 1, 1869, from which we extract the opening lines:

"DEAR SIR:—Conrad Weiser figures so prominently in the Colonial Records of Penna., that I thought your society would appreciate a relic from a building which he originally owned and constructed. In altering the walls of the building, which has since passed into my possession, I reserved a piece of the limestone foundation, a specimen of which I forwarded you by the Hon. Geo. Sharswood, to be deposited among the relics of your Society. This building was constructed in 1751, by Conrad Weiser, and, after undergoing many changes, is now a large mercantile house, in which some of the old wall is still retained." * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

The following letters are pertinent to the relic mentioned, to wit:

"PHILA., Aug. 30, 1869.

"MY DEAR SIR:—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 24th ult., with the accompanying relic of the Weiser House. I have to thank you for your politeness. I agree with you that the stone had better be deposited in the cabinet of the Historical Society, but it appears to me it had better been presented directly by yourself with a communication detailing such reminiscences of the house as you possess, and which would not fail to be a paper of great interest. If you address your letter to Col. J. Ross Snowden, Prothonotary of the Supreme Court and Corresponding Secretary of the Historical Society, to whom I have handed the relic, he will take great pride and pleasure in presenting it to the Society in your name.

"Very truly yours,

"GEO. SHARSWOOD.

"J. L. STICHTER, Esq., Reading."

"HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNA.,

"PHILA., Sept. 2, 1869.

"MY DEAR SIR:—I have received your favor of yesterday, and also from Judge Sharswood the interesting relic, to which your letter refers. Any memorial of the distinguished Indian Agent and Interpreter and Soldier, Col. Weiser, possesses peculiar interest, more especially so valuable a relic, as a piece of the foundation stone of his mansion house in Reading, built in 1751. This relic will be placed among the cherished objects of interest in the cabinet of our Society. I will

have the honor to present it, in your behalf, at the next meeting of our Society, and will then read your interesting account of Col. Weiser and have it placed among our archives.

"I am with great respect

"Your obedient servant,

"JAMES ROSS SNOWDEN, Corres. Sec.

"J. L. STICHTER, Esq., Reading, Pa."

"HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNA.,

"PHILA., Sept. 14, 1869.

"SIR :—I am directed by the Society to communicate to you their thanks for a piece of the limestone foundation of the mansion originally constructed and owned by Conrad Weiser, a German refugee. This venerable relic will be placed in our cabinet of curiosities, and your interesting letter will be filed among the archives of our Society.

"I have the honor to be

"Your obedient servant,

"JAMES SHRIGLEY, Librarian.

"J. L. STICHTER, Esq., Reading, Pa."

NOTE A.—Mrs. Lewars, the aged grand-daughter of Conrad Weiser, tenaciously holds to the opinion that the old Interpreter had another daughter, Elizabeth, who had been intermarried with the Reverend Mr. Schultze. We have found no confirmation of her saying in any record extant, but are quite willing to credit her report She also relates that still another daughter had been intermarried with a Mr. Womelsdorf, to whom the father gave the farm upon which the town of Womelsdorf now stands—he having located and named the town.

We have not the mind to dispute with a witness of her age and ancestral line. We are the less inclined to controvert the sayings of Conrad Weiser's descendants so long as there is no

direct antagonism with known facts, on account of the imperfection of the records at hand. Thus, for instance, Mrs. Muhlenberg is written "Anna Maria" here and simply "Anna" in another place, whilst "Maria" stands for a sister. So, too, we find the names "Magdalena" and "Margretta" used interchangeably, sometimes indicating one, then again two daughters.

NOTE B.—Repeated attempts were made at different times to investigate the titles and papers relative to those New York lands. Attorney Miller was on one occasion employed to enter upon the task of dispossessing the occupants. The aggressive party was led to entertain great hope of success. Finally it was discovered that rats had carried away the records. A happy *ra*tification, say we.

CHAPTER XIX.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

Having reached the end of our task, we may be allowed to rest and look back upon the course we have followed; and, like him who has journeyed awhile, sit down at the end of our way and ask for the result obtained from our efforts.

Our way has not been like the path-finder's, which must first be discovered and then trodden with difficulty and caution. It lay not unmarked over a trackless region, but broken, open and well beaten by Conrad Weiser himself. Even a century and a decade of years could not close it over again—so long did it retain the 'right of way.' He made his own history, and we had but to follow in his

"*Foot-prints on the sands of time.*"

Like every noble soul, he proved his own biographer, and, accordingly, rendered it an easy task for the scribe coming after to perform the part of a recorder and chronicler. Man and the race make history, indeed, but not so much with pen and parchments as by the weaving of noble deeds into a living, harmonious whole. The unbroken chain which Conrad Weiser forged in the furnace of his trying life, we simply recounted, link by link, from his cradle to his tomb. And the fact that the history of a mortal may thus be detailed, a hundred and more years after he has passed by and away, with-

out indulging in verbose panegyrics or amplifying eulogy—*this* shows that we have not been walking side by side with a myth, but with a character worthy of a record. We protest against the charge of having galvanized a fictitious skeleton into an apparent life. We communed with a still living man, though dead. Live men cannot die. We only bury dead men. As there are men dead, though they live, so are there men living, though they are dead. The dead bury the dead, whilst the living hold the living in life everlasting. In a certain sense, he that liveth shall never die.

We set out in search of Conrad Weiser's ancestry, in Gross-Aspach, in Herrenburg, and followed his sire to Afstædt, in Backnang—his birth-place. We saw him borne a babe in his mother's arms to the Church at Kneppingen, where he was christened "*John Conrad.*" We flitted with the family of five children back to the town of Gross-Aspach, where his excellent mother died. We accompanied the motherless household in its sad exodus from the fated "*Vaterland*" to London, and stood near to them in their sufferings and want along the Blackmoor with the Indian Chiefs. Thence we sailed with them on a six months' voyage to New York. We related the days of trial on Livingston Manor and Schoharie Valley. Whilst the sire stood as helmsman to the Palatinate Colony there, we trailed off with the son, for several months, among the Maqua Indians, and saw him there laying the foundation to his future mission. During the father's efforts, successes and reverses, we beheld the son growing into manhood, entering into marriage, and succeeding the elder in the office of benefactor to German and English, to Indian and white

men. Following the eventful life of the sire down to his pitiable end, we related his offspring's arrival at Tulpehocken, in Pennsylvania. Here there remained for us to tell the interesting story of thirty years—how he emerged into prominence as a citizen, leader and officer; serving his day, his people and his country, as Justice, Colonel and Chief of the Indian Bureau. We stood by his tomb as we stood by his cradle.

Nor did we forget to relate his intimate relation to God during his long and constant contact with his fellow men. In a word, we presented the record of his own writing—crowded with thoughts, words and deeds that breathed, lived and fruited in a glowing immortality.

And now it remains but for us, briefly, to learn some lessons from Conrad Weiser's busy life:

1. We cannot all be like him. We would not if we could. The way to fill a man with unrest, is to point out a character as an exemplar and advocate an imitation process. No two men are alike, and, consequently, their missions, neither. Know thyself first, and mature *thyself* subsequently—that is a true and practical philosophy. "*Be thyself*" is a motto that is overlooked and neglected too much by far. But remembering *that*, our hero may prove the truth of Longfellow's words for us:

> "Lives of great men all remind us
> We can make our lives sublime,
> And, departing, leave behind us
> Footprints on the sands of time."

2. Goethe says: "On due reflection I am of the conviction more and more that *energy* constitutes the great difference between men." Given a good constitution

and a sound mind, we believe the doctrine will realize itself in every individual. It failed not in the history of our hero. Action, perseverance, diligence, application—all these fruits of energy are manifest at every point of his life.

> "Let us, then, be up and doing,
> With a heart for any fate:
> Still achieving, still pursuing,
> Learn to labor and to wait."

3. Religion is no hinderance to an earnest, active and successful life. Conrad Weiser was erratic in his piety; but this was, perhaps, more the fault of his surroundings than his own. Times and circumstances divert men from the narrow way too often. He reeled and staggered to and fro, but never abandoned his love for God and man. An old descendant says: "In those times they had no churches. Conrad Weiser was an intelligent man, and was often called on to preach funeral sermons, offer prayers, and lead in singing hymns over the burying of the dead. His son-in-law, Muhlenberg, relieved him of such duties after his arrival." How silly the notion, then, that the prosecution of one's religious duties enervates us for the discharge of our secular duties. *Ora et Labora* was finely illustrated in his long and efficient course.

> "Act, act in the living present!
> Heart within and God o'erhead!

4. Conrad Weiser was a 'father' of the so-called "*Pennsylvania Germans.*" We mention this fact as an incentive to the numerous youths in East Pennsylvania, who may consider it an affliction to find that such blood courses in their veins. Let it be remembered and re-

peated that our ancestry numbers, in its line, noble characters—men who would grace any position in life. Here is a pioneer in civilization, an honorable and honored public officer, a historical character abreast with the men of his day—and a *Pennsylvania German* notwithstanding. As such he has left

> "Footprints that perhaps another,
> Sailing o'er life's solemn main,
> A forlorn and shipwrecked brother,
> Seeing, shall take heart again."

PART II.

THE PUBLIC LIFE

OF

CONRAD WEISER.

I. HIS LETTERS.

II. HIS JOURNALS.

III. HIS MEMORANDA.

IV. ADDENDA.

INTRODUCTION TO PART II.

It is with the public life and official career of Conrad Weiser that the intelligent reader will deal most largely. This is best mirrored forth in the records of his official acts. These, happily, are preserved in the Pennsylvania Archives and Colonial Records, as well as in private letters, which have found their way into print, in a measure, or have been lying in waiting for such an event. It has been thought best to present them as they are—excepting their antique orthography—both in order that they may serve as "signs of the times" and for the purpose of affording the reader an opportunity to drink from the original fountain.

With these introductory words we open the second part of the work, reserving all remaining items touching our hero's history for the few pages of Addenda.

CONRAD WEISER'S LETTERS.

NO. I.

CONRAD WEISER TO R. PETERS, 1744.

SIR:

Here I send the copy of my transaction at Onondago last year; by looking over the same again I find it is just so as I put things down in Onondago, partly for my own memorandums and satisfaction. I should have made it shorter before I laid before the Governor; there are several things mentioned which are only ceremonies and mere trifling to a European idea, as the Indians always observe such things. Just now I heard that Olumapies and Shekallamy had sent a Delaware Indian to prison for having killed an Indian trader. John Harris' wife told my son so, who came from there just now. I think it happened well. I was not at home when the aforesaid Chiefs sent for me; they would perhaps have loaded me with a commission to settle the thing with the Government, but now the burden remained upon their shoulders, and had no other way to unload them than to deliver up the transgressor. The particulars I have not, only as it has been said for some time ago that John Armstrong was killed, of which I heard before I came to Philadelphia the last time. I impatiently expect Shekallamy with news of the Indi-

ans; I think nothing happened to prevent their coming, they would have sent before now to let us know.

I remain with my humble respects,

Sir, your very obliged,

CONRAD WEISER.

Tulpehocken, April 26, 1744.

P. S. April the 28th. Last night I received your's of the 26th, with the Governor's command. I am always willing to comply with his Honor's commands, but could have wished they might have been delayed till after court, where my presence by many is required on some particular occasion. But as the command is pressing, and can not be delayed, I am preparing to set out to-morrow morning for Shamokin. I will use the best of my endeavors to have the Governor's and Council's request answered to satisfaction, by delivering up the two Indians and the goods. I wish you had sent me a belt of wampum on such occasion; it is customary to use black wampum, or at least one-half. I hope I shall be able to get some of Shekallamy to make use of to the Delawares. I am afraid the two Indians have made their escape far enough before now; some other methods must then be made use of. I desire the favor of you to write a few lines to me against my return from Shamokin, to let me know whether my presence in Philadelphia is expected, or whether I can send down in writing the accounts of my success if it should happen that the Indian could be got to be delivered to me. Farewell. I am,

Sir, yours,

C. W.

Upon a second thought I intend to come to Phila-

delphia, God willing, as soon as I return from Shamokin, because I understand Mr. Collaway wants to see me.

For Mr. Richard Peters, Secretary to the Government, in Philadelphia.

NO. II.

CONRAD WEISER TO JAMES LOGAN, 1744.

September 29, 1744.

SIR:

The day before yesterday I came back from Shamokin, where I have been with eight young men of my country people, whom Shekallamy hired to make a new house for him, and I went with them to direct them; we finished the house in 17 days; it is 49½ feet long and 17½ wide, and covered with shingles. Shekallamy informed me that the Governor of Canada hath sent an embassy to Onondago, to lament over the death of Tocanuwarogon, a Chief of the Onondagos, who died last spring (in whose house I used to lodge), and to let the Council of the Six Nations know that the French hath made war against the English, whom they would soon beat, and as they, the Six Nations, loved their brethren, the English, their father Onontio desired them to take no offence, nor be on either side concerned, but stand newter, and that they should be supplied by the French with powder, lead and other commodities, at their several treating houses as usual, and as cheap as before, and as the English traders had run away from Oswego, cow-

ards as they were, Onontio would take the house of Oswego to himself, as his people are the oldest settlers of the northern counties, and would supply his children, all the Indians, with all sorts of goods very cheap. At the same time the Interpreter of Albany was at Onondago with a message from the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, which was to desire the Counlci of the United Nations to take the house at Oswego into their care for a little while, till sufficient force could be sent from Albany to defend it. The Council gave no answer, neither to the French nor to the Commissioners aforesaid. The Interpreter went to the Seneca Country, to prevail with that nation for that purpose, but it was not known when Jonuhaty (who brought this news) came away from Onondago with what success he met. Jonuhaty further told Shekallamy that the Council of the United Nations had agreed to send some of their Chiefs to Catarochkon (Fort Frontinaic) to let their father Onontio know that his children, the United Nations, did not approve of his intention to take the house of Oswego to himself, which could not be done without blood-shed; and as there were always some of the United Nations with their brethren, the English at Oswego, it might probable fall out so that some of them would be sprinkled with blood, which would raise the spirit of revenge. They, therefore, thought it would be a dangerous undertaking of Onontio, and it would also look very mean in their father Onontio to attack the English on their back, since he made war against him. They would therefore advise him to act more honorable, as becometh a warrior, and go round by sea and face the English. The deputies have orders not to go further than to the aforesaid

place, and deliver their message to the Governor of the place and return immediately. The Chiefs of the Cayugas have sent word to Shekallamy to stay at home, to be ready whenever we should sent to him. French Andrew who went to fight the Catabaws, fell sick near James river in Virginia, and his Company left him under the care of Pisquedon, one of the Company. Andrew got well, and is come back to Shamokin. He told me he would come down with the other Indians, which are to come at the time when the Indians in prison will be tried.

The fever was among the Indians at Shamokin, and hath carried off five or six while I was there. Olumapies, the Delaware Chief, is recovered again of his long sickness. This is all at present I thought fit to inform, or rather trouble you with, who am, sir,

Your dutiful,

CONRAD WEISER.

P. S. The French embassy also informed the Council of the United Nations of a treachery which the Shawnese formed against them with the Ionontatuch Ronau and Cheestagech-Ronau Indian nations about the lakes of Canada, in order to make war against the Six Nations. Now Cheekano, the Shawano Chief, is suspected to be the author of it. A message of the United Nations is gone to him.

NO. III.

CONRAD WEISER TO SECRETARY PETERS, 1745.

January 2, 1745.

I make bold to trouble you again with a few lines,

the occasion of which is my son came the other day from Virginia, where I had sent him after one of my honest debtors, and by the way he met several Indians of the Six Nations coming from the Southern Indians, the Cawtabaws, and has been told that one of Shekallamy's sons, to wit, Unhappy Jake, has been killed by the Cawtabaws, with five more of the Six Nations, in an engagement, and as this is a great stroke to our friend Shekallamy, who is for the trust put in him by the Council of the Six Nations, and our Government, worthy to take notice of, I thought it my indispensable duty to inform this, and lay it before the Governor, whether or no he thinks fit to send to Shekallamy a small present, in order to wipe off his tears and comfort his heart, and enable him by so doing to stand to his charge aforesaid, which would not only be satisfactory to Shekallamy, but very agreeable and pleasing to the Council of said Nation; and, consequently, some little service done to ourselvss. His Honor, the Governor, will be able to judge; to whom, with my humble respect, I leave the whole and remain, sir,

Your servant to command,

CONRAD WEISER.

P. S. It is customary with the Indians, that let what will happen, the Chiefs or people in trust with them don't stir to do any service or business to the public, when they are in mourning, till they have, in a manner, a new commission as beforesaid, in being fetched out of mourning and invested with new courage and dispositions.

For Mr. Richard Peters,

Mr. Jacob Rost. Sec'y to the Government, Phila.

NO. IV.

CONRAD WEISER TO SECRETARY PETERS, 1745.

HONORED SIR:

I received the package of letters by Mr. Mehlon, with several copies which your Honor was pleased to send me, and as there was a deal of business to be done under a great deal of noise at our last Court, I could not answer immediately, but thought necessary to do it at home, in hopes that your Honor would not take it amiss considering the weightiness of the affair. I shall never be wanting in your Honor's service whatever may be required of me that tends to the honor of your Government and the good of the public, and am very willing to undertake a journey to Onondago in the spring, to put the finishing hand in behalf of Onas, to so good a work, and I do not doubt of success. If that what is said by the Cawtabaw King be no deceit, which I fear it is, my reasons are thus. The Cawtabaws are known to be a very proud people, and have at several treaties they had with the Cherokees used high expressions, and thought themselves stout warriors for having deceived Garontowano (the Captain of that Company that was so treacherously killed.) I should have been better pleased to see the said King's name with some of his countrymen's signed to the letter they sent to Gov. Gouch. Some of that Nation's names are known to the Six Nations. The Interpreter should also have signed. The most Indian Interpreters are traders and people not to be depended on. However, I ought to leave this to Gov. Gouch. The Cawtabaws are also known to be an irregular people; they have no Council; the richest or greatest amongst them calls himself a King, with the consent of

his brothers, cousins or wives, and proves often the greatest fool; acts all what he does as an arbitrator; the rest don't mind him, and after all sends him to the grave with a broken head. This is what those that were prisoners amongst them, all agree. If that one article is true with them that they will own they treacherously murdered Garontowano and some of his men, a peace, no doubt, will be made between those poor wretches. I shall soon go up to Shamokin to see Shekallamy, and shall then have an opportunity to talk a great deal with Shekallamy; and if he seems inclined for peace, I will let him know of Governor Gouch's request to your Honor, otherways not, and will on my return from Shamokin wait upon your Honor to receive the necessary instructions. I should be well pleased if the Six Nations would make Williamsburg the place of Congress, but question very much whether they will not think of giving up to much, or submit so much to the Cawtabaw, to agree to that place, as to send messengers or deputies to the Cawtabaws. They, the Six Nations, will refuse at once, and therefore that point must be given up. Your Honor said enough to Gov. Gouch about that in the letter. As for a third place, I shall be more able to give my sentiments about when I return from Shamokin. I shall hardly meet any Frenchmen in Onondago, but a messenger or two, perhaps, which cannot hurt me, and if there are more, I think they will have more to fear from me than I from them. The Council of the Six Nations have always looked upon me as their friend, and one of their own Nation. It will be dangerous for a few Frenchmen to meddle with me amongst the Indians. They will soon find their mis-

takes; have a great deal more to fear from the family of the Heans in my absence. They are worse than any French or Indians, and I do not know yet whether my wife and children will be so far out of fear that I can leave them. The Heans have still their friends, as they had these 20 years, otherwise not one soul of the family would in these days be in the Province, or if they had had their due, they would be out of the world. I do not know what to do. The whole neighborhood is afraid of them, and the many felonies they have committed, and hitherto escaped punishment, will be sufficient causes for several good families to move to some other places. I did expect at least that they would all be bound to stay at their own houses in time of night and behave well in all respects, but I find their time is not yet come. I shall not trouble your Honor any longer about that family in this letter, but am in hopes that when I shall have an opportunity to wait upon your Honor, I shall be heard somewhat further. As for the time to set out for Onondago, I think it almost impracticable before the middle of May, because for the creeks and for food in the woods for horses; and the Southern Indians cannot expect an answer in their own towns till the latter end of August next, if everything goes well. I should have liked it much better if they had sent two or three old men as deputies. I would have traveled with them to the Mohawk Country by way of Albany, and having got the opinions of the Council of the Mohawks, I would have acted accordingly without any danger to the Cawtabaws. I intend to go around by way of Albany now, if I do go. I have nothing more to mention, but am, sir, your dutiful, CONRAD WEISER.

Tulpehocken, February 10, 1745.

NO. V.

CONRAD WEISER TO R. PETERS, 1745.

SIR:

I have received yours of the 8th instant, with a packet from the Governor. I am very much obliged to you for interesting with me in the misfortune that threatened me and my family. I could get no goods in Lancaster good for anything to make a present to Shekallamy; have therefore sent my son to Philadelphia with an order to Mr. Shippen, herein enclosed for your approbation; you may alter if you see cause. I have answered the Governor's letter, but came home from Lancaster the night before last, very lame. I accidentally scalded my foot about 12 days ago, and was obliged to apply to a doctor. I am in hopes it will soon be better, and as soon as possible I will set out for Shamokin. As to the Virginia affair, you will see my sentiment in the letter to the Governor. I remain with my hearty respect, sir,

Yours,

CONRAD WEISER.

February 11, 1745.

NO. VI.

CONRAD WEISER TO R. PETERS, 1745.

Tulpehocken, February 18, 1745.

SIR:

By my son I received 3 pieces of strout instead of 3 strout match-coats I wanted for to take to Shamokin for Shekallamy, and no instructions what to do with the three pieces of strout. I think it would be extravagant

to give it to Shekallamy. I intend to set out for Shamokin on the 25th instant, and shall take but three match-coats and one-half dozen silk handkerchiefs and leave the rest till I receive orders from you what to do with. I think there must be a mistake. I hope it is not in my order. There will be time enough to let me know before I set out, if anything unknowing to me as yet must be done with the rest. This is all at present. With my hearty respect I remain, sir,

Your obliged,
CONRAD WEISER.

NO. VII.

Conrad Weiser's letter to a Friend respecting the Indian's views on the subject of religion; showing that they have a strong confidence in the overruling Providence of God.

Heidelberg, Berks Co., 1746.

ESTEEMED FRIEND:

I write this in compliance with thy request, to give thee an account of what I have observed among the Indians in relation to their belief and confidence in a Divine Being, according to the observations I have made from 1714, in the time of my youth, to this day.

If by the word of *religion* people mean an assent to certain creeds, or the observance of a set of religious duties, as appointed prayers, singing, baptism, or even *heathenish worship*, then it may be said, the Five Nations and their neighbors have no religion. But if by religion we mean an *attraction* of the soul to God, whence proceeds a confidence in, a hunger after, the knowledge of

Him, then this people must be allowed to have some *religion* among them, notwithstanding their sometimes savage deportment. For we find among them some traces of a confidence in God alone; and even sometimes, though but seldom, a vocal calling upon Him. I shall give one or two instances of this, that fell under my own observation.

In the year 1737 I was sent the first time to Onondago, at the desire of the Governor of Virginia. I departed in the latter part of February, very unexpectedly, for a journey of five hundred English miles through a wilderness where there was neither road nor path, and at such a time of the year when *animals* could not be met with for food. There were with me a Dutchman and three Indians. After we had gone one hundred and fifty miles on our journey, we came to a narrow valley about half a mile broad and thirty long, both sides of which were encompassed with high mountains, on which the snow laid about three feet deep. In it ran a stream of water, also about three feet deep, which was so crooked that it kept a continued winding from one side of the valley to another. In order to avoid wading so often through the water, we endeavered to pass along the slope of the mountain—the snow being three feet deep and so hard frozen on the top that we walked up on it; but we were obliged to make holes in the snow with our hatchets, that our feet might not slip down the mountain; and thus we crept on. It happened that the old Indian's foot slipped, and the root of a tree by which he held breaking, he slid down the mountain as from the roof of a house. But happily he was stopped in his fall by the string which fastened his pack, hitching on

the stump of a small tree. The two Indians could not go to his aid, but our Dutch fellow-traveler did; yet not without visible danger of his own life. I also could not put a foot forward till I was helped. After this we took the first opportunity to descend into the valley, which was not till after we had labored hard for half an hour with hands and feet. Having observed a tree lying directly off from where the Indian fell, when we were got into the valley again, we went back about one hundred paces, where we saw that if the Indian had slipped four or five paces further, he would have fallen over a rock one hundred feet perpendicular upon craggy pieces of rocks below. The Indian was astonished, and turned quite pale; then, with outstretched arms and great earnestness, he spoke these words: "*I thank the great Lord and Governor of this world, in that he has had mercy upon me, and has been willing that I should live longer.*" Which words I, at that time, put down in my journal. This happened on the 25th of March, 1737.

On the 9th of April following, while we were yet on our journey, I found myself extremely weak, through the fatigue of so long a journey, with the cold and hunger, which I had suffered, there having fallen a fresh snow about twenty inches deep, and we being yet three days' journey from Onondago, in a frightful wilderness. My spirit failed, my body trembled and shook. I thought I should fall down and die. I stepped aside and sat down under a tree, expecting there to die. My companions soon missed me. The Indians came back and found me sitting there. They remained awhile silent. At last the old Indian said: "My dear companion, thou hast hitherto encouraged us; wilt thou now

quite give up? Remember that evil days are better than good days. For when we suffer much we do not sin. Sin will be driven out of us by suffering, and God cannot extend his mercy to them; but contrary wise, when it goeth evil with us, God hath compassion on us." These words made me ashamed. I arose up and traveled as well as I could.

The next year (1738) I went another journey to Onondago, in company with Joseph Spangenberger and two others. It happened that an Indian came to us in the evening, who had neither shoes, stockings, shirt, gun, knife nor hatchet. In a word, he had nothing but an old torn blanket and some rags. Upon enquiring whither he was going, he answered to Onondago. I knew him, and asked him how he could undertake a journey of three hundred miles so naked and impoverished, having no provisions, nor arms to kill animals for his sustenance? He answered he had been among enemies, and had been obliged to save himself by flight; and so had lost all; for he had disposed of some of his things among the Irish for strong liquors. Upon further talk he told me very cheerfully "That *God* formed everything which had life, even the rattlesnake itself, though it was a bad creature; and that *God* would also provide, in such a manner, that he should go thither; that it was visible, *God* was with the Indians in the wilderness, because they always cast their care upon Him; but that, contrary to this, the Europeans always carried their bread with them." He was an *Onondago Indian.* His name was *Onontagketa.* The next day we traveled in company, and the day following I provided him with a knife, hatchet, flint, tinder, also shoes and stockings,

and sent him before me, to give notice to the Council at Onondago that I was coming, which he truly performed, being got thither three days before us.

Two years ago I was sent by the Governor to Shamokin, on account of the unhappy death of John Armstrong, the Indian trader (1744.) After I had performed my errand, there was a feast prepared, to which the Governor's messengers were invited. There were about one hundred persons present, to whom, after we had in great silence devoured a fat bear, the eldest of the Chiefs made a speech, in which he said: "That, by a great misfortune, three of the brethren, the *white men*, had been killed by an Indian; that, nevertheless, the sun was not set (meaning there was no war), it had only been somewhat darkened by a small cloud, which was now done away; he that had done evil was like to be punished, and the land to remain in peace; therefore he exhorted his people to thankfulness to God; and therefore he began to sing with an awful solemnity, but without expressing any words. The others accompanied him with their voices. After they had done, the same Indian with great earnestness of fervor spoke these words: '*Thanks, thanks be to Thee, Thou great Lord of the world, in that Thou hast again caused the sun to shine, and has dispersed the dark cloud. The Indians are Thine.*'

Their government is by Kings, which they call *Sachama;* and those by succession, but always of the mother's side. For instance, the children of him, who is now king, will not succeed, but his brother, by the mother, or the children of his sister, whose sons, and after them the children of her daughters will reign, for no woman inherits. The reason they render for this way of descent is that their issue may not be spurious.

Every King hath his Council, and that consists of all the old and wise men of his Nation, which, perhaps, is two hundred people. Nothing of moment is undertaken, be it war, peace, selling of land, or traffic, without advising with them; and, which is more, with the young men, too. It is admirable to consider how powerful the Kings are, and yet how they move by the breath of their people. I have had occasion to be in council with them upon treaties for land and to adjust the terms of trade. Their order is this: The King sits in the middle of a half moon and hath his Council, the old and wise, on each hand; behind him, or at a litttle distance, sit the young or fry in the same figure. Having consulted and resolved their business, the King ordered one of them to speak to me. He stood up, came to me, and, in the name and authority of his King, saluted me, then took me by the hand and told me he was ordered by his King to speak to me, and that now it was not he, but the King that spoke, because what he should say was the King's mind. He first prayed me 'to excuse them that they had not complied with me the last time. He feared there might be some fault in the Interpreter, being neither Indian nor English. Besides it was the Indian custom to deliberate and take up much time in council before they resolved; and that if the young people and owners of the land had been as ready as he, I had not met with so much delay.' Having thus introduced his matter, he fell to the bounds of the land they had agreed to be disposed of, and the price, which now is little and dear; that which would have bought twenty miles, not buying now two. During the time that this person spoke, not a man of them was observed to whis-

per or smile—the old, grave; the young, reverent in their deportment. They spoke little, but fervently, and with elegance. I have never seen more natural sagacity, considering them without the help (I was going to say), the spoil of tradition; and he will deserve the name of wise that outwits them, in any treaty, about a thing they understand. When the purchase was agreed, great promises passed between us, of kindness and good neighborhood, and that the Indians and English must live in love as long as the sun gave light. Which done, another made a speech to the Indians, in the name of all the Sachamakers or Kings; first to tell them what was done, next to charge and command them 'to love the Christian, and particularly live in peace with me and the people under my Government; that many Governors had been in the river, but that no Governor had come himself to live and stay here before; and having now such an one that had treated them well, they should never do him, or his, any wrong.' At every sentence of which they shouted and said Amen in their way.

The justice they have is pecuniary. If they commit any wrong or evil, be it murder itself, they atone by feasts and presents of their wampum; which is proportioned to the quality of the offence, or persons injured, or of the sex they are of. For, in case they killed a a woman, they pay double; and the reason they render is that she breedeth children, which men cannot do. It is rare that they fall out, if sober; and, if drunk, they forgive it, saying, "It was the drink and not the man that abused them."

We have agreed that in all differences between us, six of each side shall end the matter. Do not abuse

them, but let them have justice, and you do win them. The worst is that they are the worse for the Christians, who have propagated their vices, and yielded them tradition for ill, and not for good things. But as low an ebb as these people are at, and as inglorious as their own condition looks, the Christians have not outlived their sight with all their pretentions to a higher manifestation. What good, then, might not a good people graft where there is so distinct a knowledge left between good and evil? I beseech God to incline the hearts of all that come into these parts, to outlive the nations, by a fast obedience to their greater knowledge of the will of God; for it were miserable, indeed, for us to fall under the just censure of the poor Indian's conscience, while we make profession of things so far transcending.

For their origin, I am ready to believe them of the Jewish race; I mean of the stock of the ten tribes, and that for the following reasons: First, they were to go to a 'land not planted nor known,' which, to be sure, Asia and Africa were, if not Europe; and He that intended that extraordinary judgment upon them, might make the passage not uneasy to them, as it is not impossible in itself, from the easternmost parts of Asia to the westernmost of America.

In the next place, I find them of the like countenance and children of so lively resemblance that a man would think himself in Duke place, or Berry street, London, when he seeth them. But this is not all; they agree in rite; they reckon by moons; they offer their first fruits; they have a kind of feast of tabernacles; they are said to lay their altar on twelve stones; their mourning a year; customs of women, with many other things that do not now occur.

NO. VIII.

CONRAD WEISER TO RICHARD PETERS, 1747.

HONORED SIR:

Yours of the 13th instant with the enclosed copies of Governor Shirley and Colonel Stoddards I received this morning, about five o'clock, the very moment I was ready to mount my horse to go to Shamokin. It will be more convenient to answer yours after my return from the said place. Thus far I know that the Mohawks are the people Col. Johnson and Mr. John Henry Lydias engaged in the war against the French, and among them some young, straggling fellows of the other Nations, but not with the public consent of their Council or Chiefs. Yet it may be that out of politics the Six Nation Chiefs may conceal their true intention against the French, or are divided in Council. I am very sure many of them wish the destruction of Canada, when in the mean time others have open and very good correspondents with the French. I wish myself at Onondago. I would soon be able to give a very particular account of everything. I am still of the opinion that the Six Nations will be engaged in the war, if they are not altogether now. I cannot say more at present. If you please, assure the Council that I shall very gladly and with fidelity exert myself to answer their expectations. I would say if I could without words that Mr. Lydias cannot be ruined. He has nothing to lose. But Col. Johnson may; but he has neither wife nor children, and Admiral Warren is his uncle, and the Assembly of New York have supplied their Governor and the Governor him. I think from New York we must learn what

passes between the said gentleman and the Indians. I heartily wish the affair well, but let us move with sure steps, and if we see cause, contribute handsomely. I must conclude, since I am sure of nothing, and remain, sir,

Your very obedient,

June 15, 1747. CONRAD WEISER.

To Richard Peters, Esq.,
Secretary in Philadelphia.

NO. IX.

Conrad Weiser to Richard Peters, 1747.

Tulpehocken, June 21, 1747.

Dear Sir:

Having received yours of the 13th instant, a few minutes before I left for Shamokin, according to your request I endeavored to make answer, but wanted to see Shekallamy first. This, with the enclosed papers, will give you a clear light, I hope, to the government of the circumstances about our good friends, the Six Nations. I took my route over Paxton, to go up along the Susquehanna river, being the weather was uncertain and I did not care to lie out in the woods, having had a touch of a fever for several days past. But as good Providence ordained, I found Shekallamy at the house of Joseph Chambers in Paxton, with two of his sons and a man of note from the Cainckquon Country, who has been at all the treaties held in Pennsylvania ever since I am concerned in Indian affairs. For this Province his name is Sca-yenties. He was sent down to acquaint Tocaniadarogan, Shekallamy's son, *that a certain tribe of their Nation had nominated and appointed him one of*

their Counsellors, and desired him to apply himself to public business, and to acquaint Shekallamy and the Indians thereabout of what passes among the Six Nations. I stayed two days and two nights at Joseph Chamber's with the said Indians, discoursed with them, and I entertained in the best manner I could, and what I have informed of it, I am satisfied it is truth. I omitted things reported, but uncertain, for example: "That 300 Indians allied to the Six Nations, living about the Lake of Erie, had joined to cut off all the French traders about that Lake and elsewhere. That a great number of Tuscaroras were gone to fight the French in Canada. That the deputies gone to Montreal had in charge to require the French Governor to disarm all his Indians employed against the English. If he refuses, to let him know that the Six United Nations, with their allies, would demolish him as the author of this war." Scayenties says nobody knows what the said deputies have in charge. It is, however, most certain that the Six Nations are inclined to defend the English. I have informed the Government several times of the mischief some of our people from time to time did to the poor Indians. But I dont't remember that ever anything effectually was done for relief. I desire you will press it on the Council, in the best manner you can, to order the Indians justice done in their complaint, that they may be satisfied of our true and upright heart towards them, according to what we promise in public treaties. I shall be sick of Indian affairs if no medium is found to do them justice. It may happen that some of our people may be served as J. A. was, which is the only resentment the Indians use when once satisfied they have

to deal with a rogue, and can't get other satisfaction. Let such grievances be redressed out of the public stock at this critical time, rather than suffer the Indians to be wronged (if no other medium can be found.) I assure you, sir, I find it very hard sometimes to excuse the Government, and must hear words entirely disagreeable. I am satisfied the Indians have just reason to complain at the behavior of some of our people.

As to the treaty of Col. Johnson and Mr. Lydias with the Mohawks, I dislike it, and the Six Nations are offended at the people of Albany because we pay their people with goods against the opinion of the Chief Council. If these two gentlemen had as much judgment as they have pride, they would never have persuaded the Mohawks into the war in a private way, for it may turn out that both their scalps may be taken and carried to Canada. In short, I don't think it proper our Government should countenance such doings, and I hope the Council will not look upon it worthy of their approbation. I have nothing further to trouble you with, but remain, sir,

Your well known and obedient,

CONRAD WEISER.

I desire you will be so good as to let Mr. Logan have the perusal of the enclosed. I have not time enough to send him a copy.

I arrived last night at my house from Paxton, and was obliged to hurry of this information, in hopes to get an opportunity this evening to send it.

To Richard Peters, Esq.,

Secretary at Philadelphia.

Per Leonard Feck.

NO. X.

CONRAD WEISER TO SECRETARY PETERS, 1747.

Tulpehocken, July 6, 1747.

SIR:

Whether or not you have received mine of the 21st of last month I do not know. I did expect to receive a few lines from you in answer to it, to acknowledge the receipt thereof. It was delivered to a laborer at your house early one morning before you were up, by Leonard Feck, my neighbor. This comes to let you know that Shekallamy came to my house last night on express, with the following news: That Saristaquoh, a Chief and Captain of war of the Oneidas, living on the heads of Susquehanna, had sent down word to Shekallamy that the French had set out from Montreal, with a numerous army, to make an invasion in the Government of New York; that a certain Indian, Cantarontie by name, a native of Oneida, had deserted the French near Lake Champlain, and came to Oneida to inform them of the French design, and that the Oneidas immediately had sent to Onondago for their assistance and called a Council of War, in which it was unanimously agreed to go to the assistance of Albany, and had sent accordingly to the Indians on the Susquehanna to come and meet them in the Mohawk Country, where they would meet; *that accordingly* 50 *men were gone out of Canuhochquagy with Saristaquoh, now about* 20 *days ago, all the men of Oneida were gone together with the old gray-headed man to defend Albany*; that the Oneidas had delared war in form against the French, and there was no doubt all the Six Nations would do the same, because the commanding officer of the French had given orders to his

men to spare none of the Six Nations that would come in their way, and it was thought he had a design to be revenged on the Mohawks.

Shekallamy further informs that a party of Albany men, with about 30 Indians of the Mohawks and Oneidas, in all about 130 men, had fell in with a French party of about the same number, all Frenchmen, who had but one Indian with them as their guide. An engagement ensued. The Indians stood neuter and looked at it. The engagement lasted till night, and began again in the morning. Then the Indians said to Albany people: Brethren, stand still and look at us, and learn how to fight. We will now engage the French, which accordingly they did. The Indians then came near the French behind the bushes and trees, and fired one sally, and then took to their hatchets, and put the French to flight immediately and killed a good many of them. The particulars Shekallamy does not know.

That another party of French Indians had been pursued near Albany by some of the Mohawks, who killed one of the French Indians. He had told the Mohawks before he died that all the praying Indians had engaged against the English and the Mohawks, the praying Indians being over persuaded by the French.

This is all what I have from Shekallamy at present. He says we may depend upon the truth thereof. He will stay two days with us. He is in great want of provisions. I must assist him with some meal. He seemed to be very glad that the Oneidas are so heartily to assist the English. I have nothing to add, but I pray let me hear of the receipt of this and the former. I am, sir,

Your very humble servant,

CONRAD WEISER.

I sent this by Mr. Muhlenberg, my son-in-law, who promised to send it by an express from his house to you.

Shekallamy gives his respects to you and to his old friend, Mr. Logan. He intends a visit to Philadelphia before next fall.

I understand by Shekallamy that the Oneidas will soon send a Captain of War down this way to Shamokin, to gather all the Indians and lead them on against the French.

If this and my former do not agree, I hope I cannot be blamed in reason. I have informed according to what I had been informed, and I still believe all to be true.

NO. XI.

CONRAD WEISER TO R. PETERS, 1747.

SIR:

Yours of last week is come to hand per express from Mr. Muhlenberg. I am glad to hear that both my letters came to your hand and are approved. Shekallamy went away from my house to Shamokin on the 8th instant. I furnished him with some provisions. Victuals are very scarce at his place. I gave him ten bushels of wheat meal, which was as much as he could carry. He had two of his sons with him on horseback. They loaded their horses with meal and went off well satisfied. I have used them well during their stay. Shekallamy promised to let us know what passes among the Indians concerning the French and the present war. I dare say the man is true and honest. I shall be glad to hear what the President and the Council purport to do about

the Indians' complaint against Jos. Annen and John Powle. Shekallamy was very much concerned about it and wanted an answer. He is afraid that no good will come from it if the Council will not find a remedy for the Indians lost. I for my part am fully satisfied the Indians' complaint is just in the main, let the particulars fall out as they will. When an Indian in his judgment thinks himself wronged by somebody, more especially by the white people, he will never forgive, and he is apt to revenge himself and urged to do it by his country people. John Armstrong, the poor man, had warning sufficient to persuade him to do the Indians justice, but covetuousness prevented him. At last he paid too dear for his faults. Our people are apt to forget such examples. The rest I shall leave to you. I conclude, and remain, sir,

Your very humble servant,

CONRAD WEISER.

Tulpehocken, July 14, 1747.

To Richard Peters, Esq.,

Secretary, Philadelphia, per Geo. Graff.

NO. XII.

Conrad Weiser to R. Peters, 1747.

Sir:

Yours of the 17th instant I received. I am at a loss to answer it. You are able to judge by the information we had from to time of the Indians, which I still believe may be depended on yet. I leave you no room to complain at my negligence. I will endeavor to give you my sentiments about the particular heads, viz;

1. Col. Johnson and Mr. Lydias did not prevail upon the Council of the Six Nations to declare war against the French, but only upon some straggling poor fellows, to enlist themselves and take service, by taking the presents and going to war with the Mohawks. I am sorry that Gov. Shirly is deceived, but it is like (although he is a capable and honest gentleman) he believes what he wishes to be true, like the rest of our fellow creatures.

2. I never was afraid of the Six Nations engaging against the English, but always doubted whether they would fight the French; yet, when I understood of the Mohawks, when I was with them, and what I read in New York news, that they would fight, and actually have fought the French, I thought all the rest of the Six Nations would now engage against the French, and perhaps will, but I am well assured that before they will engage, they will call in their people that are scattered abroad, and some of them live about 100, 150 and 200 miles from their center, especially the Senecas and and Cayugas, who are the most numerous. The pretended expedition to Canada has done a great deal of hurt. No man is able to excuse it with the Indians. They call it downright cowardice that so many hundreds dare not venture to go beyond the inhabited part of the English settlement, much less to invade Canada. An Interpreter must be ashamed to hear them talk of it among themselves, or in familiarity with him, the Indians undervalue or rather make nothing of our valor, and think we, the English, will leave them in the lurch. At least a ship load of goods will not engage them into the war, if their own reasons don't, for they

say the English have goods enough; let us take the presents and promise a great deal and do little, according to the custom of the white people. I have conversed with Indians and with the most politest of them above 33 years now, and have always had some very familiar friends among them. I am not deceived in my mind, and I know also very well how they have been dealt with by the white people, who have frequently learned them to tell lies in public treaties, and to the Commissioners and Governors that treated with them in particular in a neighboring Government.

3. The proposal of sending Commissioners from all the northern Colonies is in my opinion very good. It would be of some service, but they cannot believe Col. Johnson and Mr. John Lydias, their report, that the Six Nations have engaged in the war against the French. If they do not engage before such Commissioners meet at New York, I am satisfied when the said gentlemen did give such information to Col. Staddard, in order to be sent to Governor Shirley. The Six Nations had not engaged, if they did not know better, and have been too credulous, which I am apt to believe for charity's sake. They show that their judgment is under age, but if they knew better and with design gave a false information, I have nothing to say to them. Let the Commissioners that meet at New York agree to take Crown Point Fort or do some other act of valor against the French that will bring the Six Nations into war, not only by word of mouth, as they hitherto have done, but by acts and deeds. In the mean time let them be assured that they will be supplied by the English with ammunition, &c.

4. The Indians must have satisfaction made for pri-

vate injuries. If we will deal with them according to our public treaties and show that we are what we pretend to be, that is to say, their friends, people of honor and honesty, the Council and Assembly will find a remedy. I own it will be a difficult matter to come to the truth in private quarrels, between the white and the brown people, for the former will outswear the very devil, and the latter's oath is not good in our laws. If all comes to all, rather than the poor Indians should be wronged, the public ought to make satisfaction if no remedy can be found to prevent it.

5. Olumapies would have resigned his crown before now, but as he had the keeping of the public treasure (that is to say the Council Bag), consisting of belts of wampum, for which he buys liquor, and has been drunk for these two or three years, almost constantly, and it is thought he won't die as long as there is one single wampum left in the bag. Lapapitton is the most fittest person to be his successor. He is an honest, true-hearted man, and has very good natural sense. He is also a sober man, between 40 and 50 years of age. He is well esteemed among his country people and others, but whether or not he will trouble himself with public affairs is a great question. He has lived retired for these several years with his family.

6. A small present ought to be made to the Indians on Lake Erie to acknowledge the receipt of theirs. It may be sent by some honest trader. I think George Coughon is fit to perform it. I always took him for an honest man, and have as yet no reason to think otherwise of him.

At the conclusion of this, I freely own I have been

pretty forward and open, but I hope you will pardon me, for you gave me provocation. Otherwise I will argue the point over with you, about the 16th of August next, when I hope to see you in good health, who am, sir,

Your dutiful,

CONRAD WEISER.

Tulpehocken, July 20, 1747.

NO. XIII.

Conrad Weiser to R. Peters, 1747.

Honored Sir:

I hope these few lines will find you in good health, as I with my family are at present—thank God. I thought good to let you know that I intend to visit Shekallamy, who I hear is sick with the fever and ague for many weeks. I intend to set out about the 5th of next month. I understand that Olumapies is dead, but I cannot say I am sure of it. The Indians about Shamokin have been sick with the fever and ague very much. One of the people called Moravians, who went up there to make converts, died there also. Otherwise everything is quiet among the Indians on Susquehanna river. I will let you know of my return and of what passes among the Indians. If you have any commands to Shamokin, I must have them this week. I have nothing to add, but remain

Your dutiful,

CONRAD WEISER.

Tulpehocken, September 27, 1747.

To Richard Peters, Esq.,

Secretary in Philadelphia.

NO. XIV.

CONRAD WEISER TO R. PETERS, 1747.

SIR:

On the 6th instant I set out for Shamokin, by way of Paxton, because the weather was bad. I arrived at Shamokin on the 9th, about noon. I was surprised to see Shekallamy in such a miserable condition as ever my eyes beheld. He was hardly able to stretch forth his hand to bid me welcome. In the same condition was his wife; his three sons not quite so bad, but very poorly. Also one of his daughters and two or three of his grand-children all had the fever. There were three buried out of the family a few days before, viz: Cajadies, Shekallamy's son-in-law, that had been married to his daughter above 15 years, and reckoned the best hunter among all the Indians; also his eldest son's wife, and grand-child. Next morning I administered the medicines to Shekallamy and one of his sons, under the direction of Dr. Grœme, which had a very good effect upon both. Next morning I gave the same medicines to two more (who would not venture at first.) It had the same effect, and the four persons thought themselves as good as recovered. But above all, Shekallamy was able to walk about with me with a stick in his hand before I left Shamokin, which was on the 12th in the afternoon.

As to what passes among the Indians, the Six Nations (except the Mohawks) have not yet declared against the French. Some of their Chiefs are now in Canada, but for what reason is not known. It is generally believed by the Indians that they are about bringing over

the French Praying Indians to the Five Nations' Country, or lay a stop to their war against the English. Shekallamy says if they miss in their schemes, war will then be declared against the French. Some of the Seneca's young men have followed the example of the Mohawks and went to war against the French, and had five of their Company killed by the French. The young people of the Six Nations are inclined to fight the French.

Shekallamy told me further that the Governor of Canada has sent a message to all the Indians about the Lakes and desired them to take up his hatchet to fight the English; that two of the Nations had accepted it, but Shekallamy does not know which two; all the rest of the Six Nations refused it at once.

The Zis-gechroona, or Jonontadyhagas, or both, jointly have sent a large black belt of wampum to all the Delaware and Shawnese Indians living on the rivers Ohio and Susquehanna, to invite them into the war against the French. The belt came to Shamokin with the said message. Shekallamy saw the belt, but the Delaware Indians that brought it could not remember which of the above mentioned two Nations (or jointly) had sent it. That 100 men of the Delawares were actually gone to meet the Jonontadyhagas about Deoghsaghronty, where 70 or 80 of the Six Nations living at Canoyinhagy were also expected. They intend to cut off a French settlement to the south of Lake Erie.

Another such black belt of wampum was sent by the aforesaid Indians to the Six Nations for the same purpose.

Shekallamy said that himself and the Indians about Shamokin keep their ears open to the said Nations, and they will act according as the Six Nations act.

Whilst I was at Shamokin, 14 warriors came down from Diaogon, about 150 miles above Shamokin, to go to war against the Cawtabaws.

On my return, about 3 miles this side of Shamokin, I met eleven Onondagas coming from war. They, with some of the Cayugas, in all 25 men, had an engagement with the Cawtabaws, in which five of the Cayugas were killed. The Onondagas said the Cawtabaws were 200 men. I sat down and smoked a pipe with them. I had some tobacco and a little rum left, with which I treated them, and we discoursed about the wars. Their Captain was a very intelligent man. I told him before we parted that we, their brethren of Pennsylvania, long to hear of the Six Nations, how things go concerning the war with the French, whether or not they had engaged in it; that if they had, we were desirous our brethren, the Council of Onondago, would let us know. If they have not, we had nothing to say to them, well knowing that our brethren, the Six Nations, were people of understanding and experienced in the war. We therefore leave that entirely to them, only we wanted now and then to receive a message from them in these critical times and to hear of their welfare. I gave the Captain a piece of eight, to remember what has been said to the Council at Onondago. In my going up I saw a French scalp at the house of Thomas McGee. Some Indians from Ohio had brought it there. Thomas McGee was gone to Philadelphia. I left it where it was. The same day I met the Indian that brought it there. He desired me to take it to the Governor in Philadelphia, since Thomas McGee was not at home, who was desired to do it, and pressed very hard upon me to re-

ceive the scalp for the Government of Pennsylvania, in whose favor the scalp was taken, and at the Government of Pennsylvania's request the Indians of Canayiahagon had taken up the hatchet against the French, and that I was the fittest man to receive it. I told him that I had been concerned in Indian affairs these many years, but I never knew that the Government of Pennsylvania had given the hatchet or employed anybody to kill Frenchmen, and that I was sensible the Government had never requested the Indians at Canayiahagon to kill Frenchmen, and therefore I could not receive the scalp; and as I was well informed that this scalp had been taken in time of peace, I could in no way receive it. All white people would look upon such actions with contempt, and as my commission for the transaction of Indian affairs did not extend to Ohio or Canayiahagon, but reached only to the Six Nations, I must leave that affair to those that had correspondents that way to inform the Government of it and receive an answer. I hoped he would excuse me, and so we parted in friendship.

I must, at the conclusion of this, recommend Shekallamy as a proper object of charity. He is extremely poor. In his sickness the horses have eaten all his corn. His clothes he gave to Indian doctors to cure him and his family, but all in vain. He has nobody to hunt for him, and I cannot see how the poor old man can live. He has been a true servant to the Government and may perhaps still be, if he lives to do well again. As the winter is coming on, I think it would not be amiss to send him a few blankets or match coats, and a little powder and lead, if the Government would be

pleased to do, and you could send it up soon. I would send my sons with it to Shamokin before the cold weather comes.

Olumapies is dead. Lapaghuitton is allowed to be the fittest to succeed him, but he declines. He is afraid he will be envied, and consequently bewitched by some of the Indians. However this must lie still till next spring, according to what Shekallamy says.

It is my humble opinion that the present intended for the Indians on the river Ohio should be larger. If that what George Croghan is to take with him is intended for the Indians at Canayiahagon, the Indians at Ohio, our much nearer neighbors, should not be passed over without something. I arrived this day, about 12 o'clock, at my house in good health, and I hope this will find you in perfect health and profound peace of mind, who am, sir,

Your ever dutiful,

CONRAD WEISER.

Tulpehocken, October 15, 1747.

To Richard Peters, Esq.,

Secretary of the Province of Penna.

NO. XV.

CONRAD WEISER TO R. PETERS, 1747.

Paxton, November 28, 1747.

SIR:

Last night I arrived here with the Indians, all in good health, but Canachquasy, the Speaker, who took sick by the way from Philadelphia to my house, and one of the women, but I hope not dangerously. This

day I delivered the goods to them, and they are well pleased for my adding two half barrels of powder to the four which they were to have. George Croghan was present, and he undertook to find men and horses to carry the powder and the lead, with two casks of liquor for them, to Ohio. I was obliged to allow them the liquor because they all followed my advice and did not get drunk, neither in town nor by the way. Scaiohady, after they had received the goods, spoke to me in the following manner: "Brother, I am very glad that our brethren in Philadelphia took into their serious consideration what we have said to them. The French party is very strong among us, and if we had failed in our journey to Philadelphia, or our expectations would not have been granted by our brethren in Philadelphia, the Indians would have gone over to the French to a man, and would have received presents (or supplies) from the French, who have offered it, but now I hope we have the better of them. Let me desire you to set out early in the spring with the supplies our brethren have been pleased to promise us, and send somebody before you, to give us timely notice that we may meet, for we are scattered up and down the country, and we will send three or four men to meet you by the way and to convey you to the place appointed. Pray don't miss, and let us that are for our brethren, the English, not be ashamed. The French party, who speak now under the ground, will speak above the ground if you should miss; but if you arrive early in the spring, all the Indians will unite heartily, and the French party will be brought over to us." They spoke to me and George Croghan, who must be my guide. I made answer that nothing should

be wanting that I could do, and if I was alive and well, I hoped to see them in their country next spring, before the grass comes out, or at farthest when they begin to plant their corn.

Scaiohady pressed upon me to put the Government in mind of what he had said against the traders in rum, that it might be suppressed, for the Indians (said he) will drink away all they have and not be able to do anything against the enemy for want of ammunition. And if rightly considered, death, without Judge or jury, to any man that carries rum to sell to any Indian town, is the only remedy to prevent that trade and a just reward to the trade, for nothing else will do. It is an abomination before God and man, to say nothing of the particular consequences, it is altogether hurtful to the public, for what little supplies we can give them to carry on the war is not half sufficient. They must buy the greatest part with their hunting, and if they meet with rum, they will buy that before anything, and not only drink away their skins, but their clothing and everything they may get of us. In short, the inconveniences occasioned by that trade are numerous at this very time; the English and French party will fall out in their drunkenness and murder one another, and the English will be charged with the mischief thereof. I must leave off before I wear out your patience, and remain, sir,

Your very dutiful,

CONRAD WEISER.

P. S. Scaiohady told Shekallamy at my house very privately that Peter Chartier and his Company had accepted of the French hatchet, but kept in their bosom till they would see what interest they could make in favor of the French.

NO. XVI.

Conrad Weiser to Richard Peters, 1748.

Tulpehocken, March 28, 1748.

Sir:

I let you know by these lines that our old friend, Shekallamy, with his eldest son, came down from Shamokin at my request. They arrived this afternoon. I wanted to consult with him about the journey to Ohio, and to hear what passes among the Indians on Susquehanna river and elsewhere. Shekallamy informs me he had certain intelligence that some of the Chiefs of the Six Nations will be down early this spring to pay a visit to their brethren in Philadelphia, and to transact an affair at Shamokin concerning the Delaware Indians and their deceased King Olumapies. This was agreed upon at the Council at Onondago last fall. Shekallamy had this account from a Onondago Indian, and also from a Cayugas Indian. He further informs me that two of the Indians that were at Philadelphia last fall from Ohio, staid all winter at Juniata. One is there still; the other on his way homewards was detained at Shamokin by the high waters, and lodged several nights at Shekallamy's house. His name is Hodeecherich, of whom Shekallamy learned "that the Indians on Ohio had not proclaimed war against the French; that they would do nothing against the French before the Six Nations had declared war; that they were altogether subject to the Six Nations; that upon the first notice they should receive from the Six Nations, they would act against the French, and not before; that it was the Zisagechroanus that had committed hostilities against

the French, and had desired the Indians between Lake Erie and Ohio to join them; that the Indians on Ohio sent them (or their belt of wampum) to the Six Nations; that the Indians about Ohio were all inclined to keep a good correspondence with the English and protect their traders, and that they expect nothing else but to have a war with the French." So far Hodeecherich. Shekallamy for his own part tells me "that he was well assured the information of the said Hodeecherich was true and that the journey to Ohio would avail but little; that he has no inclination to go, yet, if I insisted upon it, he would accompany me." This, sir, is the substance of what Shekallamy told me, and I have thought fit to send my son with it by express to Philadelphia, and I hope you will lay it before the President and Council and let my son be dispatched with their result. If the journey should be delayed or given over, what must be said to the Indians by George Croghan? His own cargo is already gone, and he must follow it in a few days. I will undertake a ride to George Croghan's, let things go as they will, before he goes to the woods. I reckon he will be greatly disappointed, he having kept about twenty horses in readiness to carry the goods. I am ready to do whatever the President and Council will be pleased to signify to me, and so conclude and remain,

Your humble servant,

CONRAD WEISER.

NO. XVII.

CONRAD WEISER TO RICHARD PETERS, 1748.

Heidelberg, July 10, 1748.

KIND SIR:

I was favored with yours this day over Lancaster

I say yours of the 25th of last month. If I have an opportunity, I will let the Indians at Shamokin know of the Governor of New York's answer. I cannot go up myself, because the time for my setting out for Ohio is so near. I have agreed to be at George Croghan's on the 18th of this instant, where I hope to see Shekallamy's eldest son, who was sent up by his father to the Six Nations, and since his arrival, his father send word to me to come to Shamokin to be informed of what passes among the Six Nations, but I did not let them know that I must at the aforesaid time set out for Ohio, per order of the Government, and I could not come to Shamokin, desired him at the same time that himself or his son would be so good as to come to George Croghan's to confer with me about several things. Whether he will come or not, I cannot tell. He is not altogether pleased with my journey to Ohio, nor is he much liked by the Indians at that place. If I must go to Shamokin, it must be per order of the President and Council, that is, in case neither Shekallamy nor his sons come to George Croghan's.

I hear no more of the deputies of the Towicktowicks and Shawonos, whom Andrew is gone to meet. Whatever is become of them, perhaps they are yet in Logstown on the Ohio. I don't intend to stay for them, without they meet me before I leave George Croghan's, from which place I shall write to you once more, and bid you farewell. I remain, sir,

Your very obedient,

CONRAD WEISER.

Favor me with a line or two by the bearer hereof, who is a waggoner, and no doubt in a hurry. I hope

everything is sent up to G. Croghan; if not, this man can take what is forgot.

NO. XVIII.

CONRAD WEISER TO R. PETERS, 1748.

Lancaster, July 14, 1748.

SIR:

I came to this town the night before last, to settle some affair of my own before my setting out for Ohio, and the moment that I write this, Mr. George Croghan came to town and informs that the Indian deputies, to wit: the two Towicktowicks (Twigthwees), three Shawnese, two head (principal) men of the Six Nations, with some others, making in all 18 persons, including a couple of women (two women), are by the way between this town and John Harris' Ferry, and design to be here in Lancaster to-morrow, and they desire that their brethren, some of the Council, will meet them in this town, they being very weary of their journey and almost starved for want of provisions, and are afraid that the city of Philadelphia is sickly. Andrew Montour is gone down from John Harris to my house, in order to give me notice. I intend to go home immediately to meet him, and so come back again to this town to wait upon the Council. I understand what will be said by the Indians will be in the Six Nation language by the said Chiefs. The Indians desire to be heard as soon as possible, and I hope the Council will be as willing to dispatch them. I have nothing to add, but remain, sir,

Your most obedient,

CONRAD WEISER.

NO. XIX.

Conrad Weiser to R. Peters, 1748.

Sir:

Yours by Mr. Wm. Franklin I received last night, with my instructions and the Proclamation. I am just now preparing to set out for Lancaster again, to join the Indians. I understand the rainy weather stopped them a day at John Harris.

As Mr. Parsons will (I hope) deliver this to you, with a draft of that piece of land he laid out for me by your order, (I find it is above 400 acres,) he will cut off on the side of the hill, if you require it, so much as you shall think fit. But I would rather have it all, and pay to the Honorable, the proprietors, as they (or you) shall think fit. I don't doubt but that their Honors will let me have it as soon as any other man. Therefore I pray, let it be conveyed to me, and I will do what will be required of me. The other small tract I had conveyed to me by proprietary warrant, on the usual conditions; also the right of William Eonst to 37 acres adjoining. I would have a patent, for a good part is paid; the rest I will pay before I take the patent out of your or Mr. Lardner's hands. I have nothing to add, but must desire (since my journey will be delayed till the first of August next) if any further news of peace reaches you, you will spare no trouble to communicate it. I am, sir,

Your very humble servant,

CONRAD WEISER.

Heidelberg, July 17, 1748.

To Richard Peters, Esq.,

Secretary of Pennsylvania.

NO. XX.

CONRAD WEISER TO SECRETARY PETERS, 1748.

Lancaster, August 4, 1748.

SIR:

I was favored with yours of the 30th of last month. Included was the instruction of the Council concerning the Governor of South Carolina's affair, and I perceive the people that have been killed and carried off in Carolina must have been killed by the Senecas, in company with some French Praying Indians. The particular words Andrew told me are thus: That after the Commissioners had mentioned the affair to the Indians at the last treaty here in Lancaster, the young Shawano Chief Lawack Kamicky told Andrew *that it was well known that some of the aforesaid Indians, to wit, Seneca and Praying Indians that came from the war this last spring had killed some white people.* So far Andrew told me, and told me further that I might depend upon the truth of the story; but, however, I will inquire further, and will let you know if I can learn more before I set out from George Croghans.

I have bought the goods of G. Croghan, ordered by the Commissioners for the Twigthwees, and have this day delivered his bill with all the rest to Thomas Cookson, to be sent to you. The charges run very high, yet I cannot see of which bill I could cut off, and must leave them to the Government. As to the number of Indians and the time they have been within the inhabited part and in Lancaster, I am satisfied the bills are right. The Nontikook Indians have been very troublesome to us. They were like so many wolfs, and I had

no influence on them upon no account. There came but 18 persons from Ohio, with the said Nontikooks, and a few Conestoga Indians. The number of Indians here in Lancaster, present at the last treaty, amounted to 55 persons, among whom were four sick, which gave particular trouble and charges. The Twigthwees I left in very good thoughts of the English, and I am, for my part, satisfied they are sincere in our interest; and within a year or two you will see a good many of the far Indians in Pennsylvania, be it war or peace. I have given every one of the Indians such present as I was ordered by the Commissioners, that is to say, to the Twigthwees. To the others that conducted them down I gave to each of them a strout match-coat, a shirt, a pair of Indian stockings, a knife and one-half barrel of powder and 100 pounds of lead, one pound of vermilion betwixt them all. This last I took out of the general present. The Nontikooks stood and looked very dull, because they got nothing. I was quite out of humor with them for the disorder they occasioned; yet, upon a second thought, I gave them 25 pounds of powder and 50 pounds of lead out of the general present, rather to please the Indians from Ohio (that they might keep what little they had received) than the said Nontikooks, with which they went off, glad to have something. I had told them that they were very indiscreet people to hunt the stranger all along without any order or request from the Governor of Pennsylvania, or these people themselves, except two or three of them.

Andrew Montour has pitched upon a place in the proprietor's manor, at Canataqueany. He expects that the Government shall build him a house there and fur-

nish his family wish necessaries. In short, I am at a loss what to say of him. I am much concerned about him. He seems to be very hard to please. I should think myself happy if I had nothing to do in public affairs and could turn a farmer entirely. At present I leave you, but shall take my farewell at George Croghan's, from whence I will write to you again. I remain, sir, Your obedient,

CONRAD WEISER.

P. S. I gave my account against the Governor to Mr. Kinsey; but as for my last services I have sent no account. You know I have been twice in Philadelphia since last spring, per order of the Council. The first journey 11 days; the second, 12 from home. Besides my services at the last treaty, being in that time 18 days in the Government's service. All this I leave to your care.

To Richard Peters, Esq.,
Secretary to the Government, Phila.

NO. XXI.

CONRAD WEISER TO R. PETERS, 1748.

Tuscarora Path, August 15, 1748,

SIR:

By these lines I let you know that I set out from my house on the 11th instant, and am no further yet than this place, that is, about 50 miles beyond G. Croghan's. Scaroyiaty, with a few more of the Indians that attended the last treaty, were still at G. C.'s. They had been informed that the people here were to be turned off by the Government, and I suppose the people used them well

on their coming by, and informed them of the design. They, the Indians, asked me about them, and desired that at least two families, to wit, Abraham Shlechl and another, might stay, that they, the said Indians, had given them liberty, and that they thought it was in their power to give liberty to such as they liked, and if any of the people now living there were turned off, nobody else should settle there, they being informed that as soon as the people were turned off, others would be put on the land, such as the Government liked. One Jacob Biat is now here to choose a place. It is likely the thing was not carried on according to your orders, but it is neither the Sheriff's nor the Justice's fault. The proclamation has been this minute read to the people, who, for the most part, (I believe every one) are willing to go off next spring if not a more favorable order comes from the Government. The Indians have desired me not to join to turn off the people till I came from Ohio. I promised I would not. I shall overtake them to-morrow on the road they are gone before me. The people that live here are very poor, and I believe the two families the Indians wish to stay are honest, notwithstanding what has been reported. I have little or nothing to write to you further. I am in perfect health and in every part well. I had promised to write a few lines to Mr. J. Logan, but I have nothing worth while to trouble him with. I desire of you to mention my hearty respect to him, and that I promise myself his good wishes and the same of yourself. It is possible I may be obliged to pay the debt of human nature before I get home. I beg you will continue the same to my family, who are both his and yours, very obedient and dutiful,

CONRAD WEISER.

P. S. Mr. Franklin's son is very well, as are all the rest of my companions. We intend to set out to-morrow morning from this place.

To Richard Peters, Esq.,
Secretary to the Government, Phila.

NO. XXII.

CONRAD WEISER TO GOV. HAMILTON, 1749.

SIR:

By these lines I let you know that I returned from Shamokin on the 18th instant. I happened to meet the eldest and youngest son of Shekallamy at the trading house of Thomas McKee, about 20 miles this side of Shamokin, by whom I was informed that all the Indians had left Shamokin for the present time, because of want of provision, so I thought best to deliver my message there to the sons of Shekallamy. There were three more of the Six Nation Indians; one of them was *Toganogon*, a noted man among the Cayugas. All that I had to do was to let the children and grand-children of our deceased friend, Shekallamy, know that the Governor of Pennsylvania and his Council condoled with them for the death of their father, which I did accordingly, and gave them a small present, in order to wipe off their tears, according to the custom of the Indians. The present consisted of six strout match-coats and seven shirts, with a string of wampum. After this was over, I gave another string of wampum to *Taghneghdoarus*, Shekallamy's eldest son, and desired him to take upon him the care of a Chief in the stead of his deceased father, and to be our true correspondent until there should

be a meeting between the Governor of Pennsylvania and some of the Six Nation Chiefs, and then he should be recommended by the Governor to the Six Nation Chiefs and confirmed, if he would follow in the footsteps of his deceased father. He accepted thereof, and I sent a string of wampum by Toganogon (who was then setting out for Cayuckquo) to Onondago, to let the Council of the Six Nations know of Shekallamy's death and my transaction by order of the Governor. There was a necessity for my so doing. The Indians are very uneasy about the white people's settling beyond the Endless mountains on Juniata, on Sherman's creek and elsewhere. They tell me that above thirty families are settled upon the Indians' land this spring, and daily more go to settle thereon. Some have settled almost to the head of Juniata river, along the path that leads to Ohio. The Indian says (and that with truth) that that country is their only hunting ground for deers, because further to the north there was nothing but spruce woods and the ground covered with palm brushes. Not a single deer could be found or killed there. They asked me very seriously whether their brother Onas had given the people leave to settle there. I informed them of the contrary, and told them that I believe some of the Indians from Ohio, that were down last summer, had given liberty (with what right I could not tell) to settle. I told them of what passed on the Tuscarora Path last summer when the Sheriff and three Magistrates were sent to turn off the people then settled, and that I then perceived that the people were favored by some of the Indians above mentioned, by which means the orders of the Governor came to no effect. So far they were con-

tented, and said that the thing must lie as it is till the Six Nation Chiefs would be down and converse with the Governor of Pennsylvania about the affair. I have nothing else to add, but remain, sir,

Your very obedient,

CONRAD WEISER.

Heidelberg, April 22, 1749.

A list of the present I bought of Thomas McKee for the family of Shekallamy, deceased:

	£	s.	d.
To 6 strout mach-coats, at 25 a piece, .	7	10	00
To 7 shirts, ...	3	10	00
To sundry small things, . . .		15	00
To three strings of wampum I gave, all the three strings amounting to 1500, at five shillings per huudred, ...	3	15	00
Total, ...	£15	10	00

NO. XXIII.

CONRAD WEISER TO GOV. HAMILTON, 1750.

Lancaster, May 4, 1750.

SIR:

I was favored with yours of the 28th of April last, by Mr. John Lawrence, with the enclosed package from the Governor of New York to the Governor of Pennsylvania, with the dispatches of that great man, Waraghiyagee, to his Governor, and as I am desired to give my thoughts about it to his Honor, the Governor, I shall not trouble you with enlarging on this. You may easily call to mind what I always said to you about the

administration in Indian affairs of our neighbors. This is a proof thereof. You tell me, sir, that you were surprised that there was not one word in my letter relating to the new purchase. I hope you did not expect that I should consult anything about with the son of Shekallamy, which would have been wrong, but if it was because no answer arrived from the Six Nations to the belt of wampum the Governor gave them last summer, I am equally surprised, but am apt to think that the Council of the Six Nations was but summoned this spring, because I heard that most of the Indians that have been down with us last summer, staid all winter upon the heads of the Susquehanna to hunt, as it was hunting time before they passed Shamokin. I believe it to be true, but I still expect a messenger from Onondago this summer with an answer to the said belt.

As to what belongs to my survey at Mokomay I am well pleased with your answer, and am obliged to you for your good will and affection.

Mr. Croghan came home but last Monday night and rested only one day, and so came down to Lancaster. Andrew Montour came down with him from Ohio to his house (I mean to Mr. Croghan's house) and did intend to go to Philadelphia some time next week, and is wanting my company, but as I expect you up, I told Mr. Croghan to stop Andrew till you came, which would be on the 15th instant to John Harris'. In your last you desire me not to mention it to anybody that you were coming up; but, sir, in yours of last week, on this subject, you did not say so, and therefore I made no particular privacy of it, although I don't know whether I told anybody of it till I came to Lancaster,

before I received your last. As to what concerns Mr. Croghan and Andrew Montour, you will receive information of Mr. Croghan himself.

In some of my last letters you were informed of Reading affairs, and that we got water at 52 or 53 feet. I hope you will come that way and be at my house on Saturday night, 12th instant, and I will make you as welcome as I can, and make you Governor of my place as long as you will please to stay with us.

I cannot help mentioning to you that I positively believe that Waraghiyagee squanders a great deal of money in a year, which the public must pay, and I am satisfied he has not wit enough to know the Indians thoroughly, but I hope he does not fall short of honesty. I have nothing to trouble you further with till I shall have the pleasure to see you. I remain, sir,

Your well known servant,

CONRAD WEISER.

To Richard Peters, Esq.,
Secretary at Philadelphia.

NO. XXIV.

CONRAD WEISER TO R. PETERS, 1750.

Bethlehem, Bucks Co., Sept. 30, 1750.

SIR:

By these lines I let you know that I am safely returned on my journey from Onondago to this place last night, and hope to find my family in perfect health by to-morrow. I wish I could inform you by these lines of a great deal of agreeable news, but I cannot. Our friend Canassetego was buried to-day before I came to

Onondago, and Solconwanaghly, our other good friend, died some time before. He that is at the head of affairs now is a professed Roman Catholic, and altogether devoted to the French. The French priests have made a hundred converts of the Onondagas, that is to say, men, women and children, and they are all clothed and walk in the finest clothes, dressed with silver and gold, and I believe that the English interest among the Six Nations can be of no consideration any more. The Indians speak with contempt of the New York and Albany people, and much the same of the rest of the English Colonies. I conclude and desire you will mention my humble respects to his Honor, our Governor. I am, sir,

Your very obedient,

CONRAD WEISER.

P. S. Within a few days I will send you a copy of my journal, where you will see my proceedings.

NO. XXV.

CONRAD WEISER TO GOV. HAMILTON, 1751.

MAY IT PLEASE THE GOVERNOR:

By a letter of the 13th instant from the Secretary, I understand that the Governor with the Speaker and Members of the House of Representatives of this Province were unanimous that I should go to Ohio to distribute the presents on the 15th of May, at Logstown, and that it was thought I could do this and have time enough to go to Albany afterwards. With submission I would say that it is now impossible that the goods can be at Logstown by the 15th of May. Time will show that what I here say is true; and, besides this, the In-

dians cannot be sent for until the goods are on the spot, because this is a hungry time with the Indians, and the few that live in Logstown cannot provide for the rest that come from other towns. Should the goods be stopped on the way by rainy weather or rising of the creeks, or by any other accident, it would create discontent and *ill will* by many of the deputies to wait with an empty belly for the goods, of which they might after all share but little. I have experienced something of this in the year 1748, when the goods could not come to Logstown according to the time appointed. So that upon the whole I am well assured if I was to go I could not be back again before the middle or latter end of June next, and then the treaty at Albany would be over; and before I could reach Albany, the Indians of the Six Nations would be gone home. It is my humble opinion that my presence at the ensuing treaty at Albany will be of more consequence than the journey to Ohio. George Croghan and Andrew Montour are every way qualified to do that business, since there is no particular treaty to be held at Ohio. They must act according to your Honor's instruction. If Mr. Croghan's integrity is questioned, some of the traders at Ohio might be required to be present and see the goods delivered, article for article. I am satisfied there are some men on Ohio that will not spare or favor him. As for my part, I believe he will do all in his power to act according to your Honor's commands and leave no room for suspicion, as it is well known that the Indians on Ohio take their measures from the Six Nations, which are to be fixed for the English at Albany. I may, perhaps, in conjunction with Col. Johnson, to whom I have written on

the subject, be of service to the Governor of New York, so that upon what is said I hope your Honor will be pleased to excuse me for this time from going to Ohio. I am willing to go to Albany if your Honor or the Assembly persist in their former orders.

By Mr. Parsons I had sent a letter to Mr. Peters, the Secretary (but the contents were to your Honor), about my intention of taking my son Sammy with me to the Mohawk country, and to leave him there to learn the Mohawk language, under the care of one Daniel Claus, a young gentleman lately come from Germany, etc.; and as I cannot expect an answer from the Secretary, I hope he has by this time sent the letter to your Honor. I must, therefore, beg the favor of your Honor's sentiments about the premises mentioned in that letter. I am, sir,

Your most obedient,

CONRAD WEISER.

Heidelberg, April 22, 1751.

NO. XXVI.

CONRAD WEISER TO GOV. HAMILTON, 1754.

MAY IT PLEASE THE GOVERNOR:

Last night I arrived safe from my journey to Shamokin and Wyoming, of which I think I am obliged by your Honor's orders to lay before you a just and distinct account, which is as follows: April 27th I set out from home and went by the way of John Harris' and Thomas McKee's, being afraid of the two high mountains and the bad road that leads from them to Shamokin. I arrived at Shamokin on the 20th of April;

found that two of the Shekallamys were about 30 miles off on the northwest branch of the Susquehanna, commonly called Two Machson. I sent a messenger for them, there being a great number of Indians at and about Shamokin. I thought fit to send my son with James Logan, the lame son of Shekallamy, with another Indian, to Oskohary, Niskibeckon and Woyamock, three Indian towns on Susquehanna (northeast branch), with your Honor's message. They set out from Shamokin on the 22d by water, because there was no fodder to be had on the way for the horses. On the 26th they came back again and reported that they lodged the first night at Oskohary with Lapackpitton, the chief man, and Sammy interpreted your Honor's message in Mohawk to James Logan, and he to Lapackpitton in Delaware. That Lapackpitton was well pleased with the message, thanked them very kindly, and gave them the string of wampum back again which they had given him, and told them it was best to leave the string at Niskibeckon, where there were more Indians, with old Nutimus, their Chief. When they arrived at Niskibeckon, old Nutimus was from home, but the rest of the Indians received the message very kindly, and said they would lay it before Nutimus and the rest of their Indians after they should come home. At Woyamock it was just the same. Paxanosy, the chief man there, was from home also. The message with another string of wampum was taken well by those that were at home. It is supposed they will have a Council together when they all come home, which will be at their planting time.

In the meantime that Sammy was gone up to Woya-

mock, I went up the northwest branch about twenty miles to see some Indians, in particular one that came from the Cayuga country, but missed him. However, John Shekallamy told me all the news he brought from Cayinkquo, which is inserted in the paper of Indian news herewith sent.

The Indians on the Susquehanna and about Shamokin saw some of the New England men that came as spies to Woyamock last fall; and they saw them making off drafts of the lands and rivers, and are much offended about it. They asked me about them. I told them we had heard so much as that, and that we had intelligence from New England that they came against the advice of their superiors as a parcel of headstrong men and disturbers of the peace. They, the Indians, said they were glad to hear that neither their brother Onas nor their own chief men had sent them, and they hoped they would not be supported by any English Government in their so doing. The Nanticokes are gone up the river to live at Olsenencky, a branch of the Susquehanna, where formerly some Onondagas and Shawnese lived.

The Indians in general about Shamokin inquire strongly about what the English are doing against the French on Ohio. They seemed too mightily pleased when I told them that the Government of Virginia had sent five or six hundred men and that a great number would be sent by North Carolina, but they wondered why Pennsylvania would not assist their brethren. I told them that I hoped they still would, though perhaps not at this time. They said, perhaps it will be too late then, for the Indians said they will not engage before they see the English fight the French courage-

ously with one accord. I have nothing to add, but am, sir,

Your very obedient and humble servant,
CONRAD WEISER.

Heidelberg, Berks Co., May 2, 1754.

NO. XXVII.

CONRAD WEISER TO GOV. HAMILTON, 1754.

HONORED SIR:

I have the pleasure to let you know that I arrived safe from Aucquick yesterday, and herein enclosed is a copy of my journal, in which I have been, perhaps, too copious. It was chiefly done for my own memory, and at last I thought proper to send a copy thereof as it is. I hope your Honor will find a leisure hour to read it. I send herein enclosed also an account of the money I was trusted with by your Honor. I am sensible I did not everywhere act according to the instruction, if literally to be taken, but I hope no fault will be found when it is considered that if I had the laying out of all the three hundred pounds and bought provisions for it at Aucquick, or rather among the inhabitants, the carriage and the distribution of it must have been left to Mr. Croghan. He might (if he intended it) purloin a great deal of it, but I have the opinion of him that he will do justice. I counted above twenty cabins about his house, and in them at least two hundred Indians, men, women and children, and a great many more are scattered thereabouts, some two or three miles off, and frequently come to fetch meal at Mr. Croghan's. He has between twenty-five and thirty acres of the best Indian

corn that ever I saw. He sends his servants every day to fetch four or five bags full of roasting ears for them; but there is not an hour in the day but what some steal in it and fetch more; and upon the whole, it is my opinion they will destroy one-half of it before it can be gathered in, to say nothing of the butter, milk, squashes, pumpkins they daily fetch, for all which, if he be not allowed, he must be a great loser. I advised him to charge for it what was reasonable, and to get two or three creditable men (as often come there from the inhabited parts) to value the corn that the Indians took away, and certify it. I cannot see what can be done else. Mr. Croghan must either be trusted to buy and distribute provisions or the Government must keep a man there, in whom they can confide, to receive the provisions from Mr. Croghan or those that bring it, and so distribute it according to the Governor's instructions. However, I believe the Indians will scatter before the winter comes, at least some of them. The Bloody Flux got among some of them, and Lewis Montour, Andrew's brother, disturbs them often by bringing strong liquor to them. They cannot help buying and drinking it when it is so near, and Lewis sells it very dear to them and pretends that his wife, who is an ugly Indian Squaw, does it. He sends Indians to the inhabitants to fetch it for him, and Mr. Croghan can by no means prevent it, because they keep it in the woods about or within a mile from his house, and there the Indians will go (after having notice) and drink away their clothing, and so come back to George Croghan's drunk and naked. It is a surprising thing that no means can be found to prevent the inhabitants in Cumberland county from selling

strong liquor to the Indians. I am creditably informed that some of the Magistrates of that county sell the most. Mr. Smith was at Aucquick, I suppose to gather some money for liquor he sent. He is an old hypocrite. He told me that the Governor ought not to suffer any strong liquor to come to Aucquick. I asked him whether he would have the Governor to come up with his sword and pistol to prevent it? No, said he. Well, then, said I, there is no other way for the Governor than to break you all and put others in commission that are no whiskey traders and will exercise their authority.

Herewith I send Mr. Croghan's two last accounts, with the receipts thereon. Your Honor will observe in that dated September 6th that the first article is one thousand weight of flour. That article only was delivered for the most part to the Indians before I came to Aucquick. All the rest in the time I was there was either delivered to them or to me and stored up. There is also charged one thousand of black wampum and twelve hundred white. These wampums Mr. Croghan made use of for Indian messages before I came there. I saw cause to allow it. The cask of powder and one hundred pounds of lead I gave to the Indians to hunt with. I have nothing else to trouble your Honor with at present and remain, sir,

Your very obedient and humble servant,

CONRAD WEISER.

Heidelberg, Berks Co., Sept. 13, 1754.

P. S. As I had time to converse with Tanacharisson a good deal before I delivered the message, I found it was best not to mention anything about the Virginians striking the French this fall; but I told Tanach-

arisson and Scarrooyady of it. I hope your Honor will condescend to it. The wampums are marked and your Honor will easily see to what article they belong. The largest belt of the Delawares is of very great consequence and importance, and ought to be answered in a very solemn manner by your Honor and the Council, including the House of Representatives, with a much larger belt and a moving speech. Though the Shawnese belt is an answer to one of ours, yet a belt of wampum to them with some good speech would at these times be of good use. We should give large belts. The wampums are cheap, and make, if worked into belts and attended with proper speeches, good impressions. I wish your Honor health and happiness, and am, sir,

C. WEISER.

NO. XXVIII.

EXTRACT FROM CONRAD WEISER'S LETTERS OF THE 16TH AND 26TH OF OCTOBER, 1754.

"As to the Connecticut affair I am clearly of opinion that by order of the Governor you should write to Hendrick, putting him in mind of his promise made to the Commissioners of this Province in Albany, when he said that he would come down to us upon any occasion, to advice with the Governor as in the presence of the Most High, and that the Governor wants to see him now to consult with him in this critical time about matters of moment. Daniel Claus might come with him. He knows the way by land, as he traveled it with me in the year 1750, to wit, from the Upper Mohawk Castle to Schoharie or Palantine towns, Catskill and Kings-

ton, leaving Albany a great way to the left hand. If Hendrick refuses to come, he may be suspected to have a hand in it, and we must then act by the Shekallamys and Jonathan, and as secretly as possible, otherwise Lydias and that wicked Priest at Conojochary will defeat our designs. I would in the meantime advice to have belts of wampum provided, and two or three large belts, all black. You will want a couple to send to the South before long, and one must be made use of to demolish Lydias' proceedings. Mr. Claus must be ordered to keep everything relating to this affair as a secret, and to search very diligently whether Henry had no hand in signing the deed to the Connecticut people. If he had not, we shall succeed without doubt. He must have the liberty to bring one or more Indians with him. If all won't do, and that Henry will not come, we must send to Onondago next spring, etc. I should be sorry if the Connecticut people should countenance the deed that Lydias so feloniously got. If they do, and settle upon the land, there will certainly be bloodshed, for the Indians always said they would never suffer any white people to settle Wyoming or higher up, and if an Indian or French war should break out, the consequence of the Connecticut people settling there would be bad on the English side, because the Indians would then be obliged to move away, and to where can they move—only to Ohio; and there they would be under the influence of the French and in their interest, as the Senecas and Onondagas now are, and perhaps the rest of the Six Nations don't think themselves safe without creeping under the wings of their father Onontio."

NO. XXIX.

CONRAD WEISER TO COL. JOHNSON, 1755.

KIND SIR:

I take this opportunity to trouble you with a few lines. Having read the Secretary's, Mr. Peter's, to you, dated either the 21st or 22d instant, I since thought, upon reflecting on it, that something about the ensuing treaty with some of the deputies of the Six Nations at Mount Johnson required a little more explanation. Whether I am wrong or right, you will be best able to judge, when you compare mine and Mr. Peters' together.

First. Henry Brandt and Seth undertook to assist in the affair against the Connecticut people in making that deed, obtained by Lydias from the Six or some of the Six Nations, void, as it was obtained in a very wicked manner.

Secondly. That they would secure things concerning the land in Mr. Penn's grant so sure to the proprietaries of Pennsylvania as to put it out of any such as Lydias' power to do any more mischief.

Thirdly. That in all this they will consult with you about everything, and proceed according to your advice.

Fourthly. When the time is fixed that the treaty shall be, to give Mr. Peters notice as soon as possible, so that the treaty be early in the spring. The notice is meant to come from your Honor.

In my humble opinion, the more secret this can be carried on, the better. Let Mr. Claus be sent to Onondago with some one or two of Henry's friends. By what I can learn, the Indians are sorry for what happened, and will be very glad to see things put upon

such a footing that the proprietaries of Pennsylvania shall have what the King has granted them, and that the Indians may come off as blameless as possible, and the wickedness of Lydias be exposed. I believe I have no need to trouble you with more words, knowing that Mr. Peters wrote a long letter to you. I wish you health and happiness, and am, sir,

Your most humble servant,

CONRAD WEISER.

Philadelphia, January 23, 1755.

NO. XXX.

CONRAD WEISER TO GOV. MORRIS, 1755.

HONORED SIR:

I must inform you that I have been visited this winter by a good number of Indians, chiefly of those that came away last year from Ohio, because of the invasion of the French, whom they hate and will not live in their neighborhood. The first Company that came consisted of 19 persons, all of the Six Nation Indians, one Jonathan Cayienquily-quoah at their head. They arrived on the 27th and 28th of January last. The second Company that came consisted chiefly of Shawnese, 12 in number. They arrived on the 20th of this same month and went off altogether on the 26th and 27th instant. They jointly intend to make a town next spring on the western branch of the Susquehanna, commonly called Otsinackson, at a place called Otstuagy or Frenchtown, about 40 miles above Shamokin, and they gave me the enclosed string of wampum, to send it to Philadelphia, with a short speech to the following purport: "Brother,

the Governor of Pennsylvania : We, your brethren, have been obliged to come away from Ohio, because we would not live so nigh the French, but rather nigh our brethren, the English, in these critical times, but we deprived ourselves by that means of a good hunting ground and our little corn fields. We intend to build a town at Otstuagy, on Otsinackson river, and pray that you will be so good, considering our poverty, as to send some of your industrious people up next spring to fence in a small piece of ground for a corn field for us, and we will thankfully acknowledge your favors. Jonathan Cayienxuilyquoah, the Speaker, gave a string of wampum." I received the string of wampum, and promised to send it to the Governor of Pennsylvania by the first safe opportunity and transmit his answer to them according to direction. Before these Indians left me, they made me a present of some skins, to the value of about four pounds, ten shillings, as a satisfaction for the expense and trouble I have been at during their stay. I received it and thanked them, but I must bring in an account against the Province next August, and hope your honor, after perusing it, will recommend it to the House of the General Assembly for better satisfaction.

I take this opportunity of informing your Honor that when Tachnechdorus, the Chief of Shamokin, of the Cayugas Nation, was down here in the beginning of the winter, he told me that the Indians about Shamokin and Otsinackson had been informed that a number of people from New England had formed themselves into a body to settle the lands on the Susquehanna, and especially Seahantowano (Wyoming), and that against the advice of their Superiors, and asked me whether it was

true what they had heard. I told him it was true as to their intentions (to settle that land), but whether with or without the advice of their Superiors I could not tell, but that I was persuaded by some letters I saw last fall in Philadelphia, it was against the advice of the Superiors of that country. The said Chief then desired to make it known, "that whosoever of the whites should venture to settle any land on Wyomock or thereabout, belonging hitherto to the Indians, will have his creatures killed first; and then, if they did not desist, they themselves would be killed, without distinction, let the consequence be what it would." I found he had intelligence from the Indians up the river that some of the New England people had been there, spying the lands. I found this a difficult matter and was no way inclined to make it known to keep off trouble from myself; but the last visitors insinuated the same thing, so I resolved to acquaint your Honor with it, who is best able to judge what must be done to prevent bloodshed among us by the Indians, who would certainly (if they should do such a thing, as I fear that they will), out of a guilty conscience, submit themselves to the protection of the French. The consequence of that would be very disagreeable to the English in general in this and the neighboring Colony. I have nothing else to trouble your Honor with at present, but with a great deal of pleasure subscribe myself, honored sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant.

CONRAD WEISER.

Heidelberg, Berks Co., March 1, 1755.

To the Hon. Robert Hunter Morris, Esq.,
Governor of Penna., residing in Phila.

NO. XXXI.

Conrad Weiser to R. Peters, 1755.

Sir:

My son Sammy is coming to you with two Indian boys, the sons of Jonathan Gayienquiligoa, a noted Mohawk that can read and write in his language, well known to you. He is poor, and prays that you, with the gentlemen managers of the Academy, will teach them to read and write in English, and to provide necessaries of life for them, during their stay in Philadelphia, which will be as long as it will require time to teach them. The biggest of them is a very intelligent boy and good-natured. The other is not so, but more of an Indian, and somewhat cross, as his father says. If you could prevail with Mr. Heintzelman, my son-in-law, for a few weeks to board with him, it would be agreeable to the lads, because my daughter is somewhat used to the Indians, and understands here and there a word. Then, afterwards, you can put them where you please. The name of the biggest is Jonathan, and the other's name is Philip. I believe their father will let them stay long enough to learn the English to perfection, provided proper care is taken of them, which I hope will not be wanting.

Jonathan wanted me to go to Philadelphia with the boys, but I thought Sammy could do as well. The Indians on the Susquehanna are starving, and have almost nothing to eat, because the deers are scarce. He thought to have had an answer before now, concerning their petition to the Governor for some provisions and the fencing in of a corn field.

French Margaret, with some of her family, is gone to the English camp in Virginia, and her son Nicklaus is gone to Ohio, to the French Fort. I suppose they want to join the strongest party, and are gone for information. The Indians that are with the French on the Ohio are chiefly Anakunkis, neighbors to New England, and neither they, nor the rest (I can't learn their number), will be true to the French, as they give out to our Indians. The other Indians on the Ohio think our troops march too slow. They say they will be glad to see the French driven away from the Ohio. This report was brought by one of Jonathan's sons, from Ohio. He was not in the French Fort. He was afraid to come nigh it, but the Indians thereabout have told him so.

I wrote to the Governor last week about the Indians' petition. I hope he has received my letter. The Indians should have an answer. What can I say to them without having it from the Governor or Assembly ? and they are continually plagueing me for an answer, which I hope you will send, if you can, by this opportunity. I have nothing to add, but am, sir,

Your most humble servant,

CONRAD WEISER.

Heidelberg, May 19, 1755.

P. S. Tachnechdorus sent word by Jonathan for me to come up to Shamokin ; that the Indians had something of importance to lay before me.

I understood since, by Jonathan, that several messages had arrived at Otsuacky, from the English army or Virginia (as was said), with strings of wampum, to forewarn the Indians on the Susquehanna not to come nigh the army, for fear of being taken for French Indians, and to stay where they are.

NO. XXXII.

Conrad Weiser to Gov. Morris, 1755.

Heidelberg, June 12, 1755.

Honored Sir:

Last night I arrived safe at my house from Otsuacky, in Indian town about 45 miles above Shamokin, on the northwest branch of the Susquehanna river, where I have been with ten hired men to fence in a corn field for the Indians, according to your Honor's order. But when I came there, I found the Indians that petitioned the Governor for that purpose had mostly deserted the place for want of provisions, and chiefly for having lost all their corn by that great frost in the night between the 29th and 30th of May last past, which was the second frost they had on that river since their corn was up, and entirely killed it. There were only Jonathan and one of the Cayugas, named Canadies, upon the spot with their families. They thanked your Honor very sincerely for the kindness you had shown in sending hands to fence in their corn field; but said, that as they could have no hopes of getting one grain of corn this year from what they had planted, they thought it needless to have a fence made about their fields, but should be extremely glad if the Government would help them with some provisions in their present necessity, which I promised to use my endeavors or to write to your Hohor to get it for them. I left one sack of flour with them. The same I did to the Indians at Canasoragy, about ten miles this side of Otsuacky, and two sacks at Shamokin, with the rest of the provisions that I took up with me for the hands and could now spare.

I have bought of Christian Laver Lower, a miller of Tulpehocken, 120 bushels of good wheat, and 60 bushels of Jacob Fisher, his neighbor, to be distributed among the Indians as your Honor will be pleased to direct.

I gave them hopes that the meal should be delivered to John Harris' Ferry, where they could fetch it by water, and I believe it will be the cheapest way. There is a good wagon road from Christian Lower's mill to Harris'—the distance is about 40 miles—and wagons may be had reasonably.

In my going up I took John Shekallamy with me, and as we passed by Canasoragy, where an Indian town now is, John told me that it would be very unmannerly or unbecoming for me not to say something to those Indians (chiefly Shawnese and Chickasaws), as I was a public person and trusted with Indian affairs, and that the Indians longed to hear from the Governor of Pennsylvania how things are concerning the war, etc.

I, therefore, told the Indians who were then met in Council, that I was sent by the Governor of Pennsylvania to Ostuacky to fence in a corn field for the Indians there, according to their petition sent down last winter to the Governor and his Council by Cayenquiligoa and others, and that the Governor took this opportunity to send his salutation to them, and had ordered me to acquaint them:

First. That the King of Great Britain had sent a great number of men and ammunition, who are now on their march to drive away the French from Ohio by force.

Secondly. That no war was yet proclaimed between the English and French, but that it was daily expected;

that in the meantime the Governor desires them to stop their ears to everything that the French could say to them and to listen altogether to the English, and to depend upon that their brethren, the English, will strictly observe the treaties of friendship existing between them and their brethren, the Indians.

Thirdly. That as soon as the Governor would receive the news of war being proclaimed between the English and French, the Governor would let them know, and whatever else should pass worth their notice.

Gave a string of wampum.

There are about twenty men in this town when they are all at home. Five or six of them are Chickasaws that lived many years among the Shawnese. There happened then to be two messengers from the Chickasaw Nation in the town with some particular message to them. I could not then learn what it was. One of these messengers told me that his Nation would be mighty glad to see the English in earnest to fight the French; that they, the Chickasaws, had observed that wherever the French came, they did mischief, and that they are now generally hated among the southern Indians.

The Indians of this town informed me that a few days ago some Shawnese Indian came from Ohio and reported that the French are in a very poor condition at the Ohio, their provisions being half rotten, and that there are not 150 men there, and that all their Indians had left them, but a very few French Praying Indians are yet with them. I have nothing else to trouble your Honor with at present, but am, sir,

Your most obedient,

CONRAD WEISER.

NO. XXXIII.

CONRAD WEISER TO GOV. MORRIS, 1755.

HONORED SIR:

According to your order I came to this place last Monday, and found the Indians waiting for me. Yeste-day I distributed about 200 bushels of meal among them. After that was over, they inquired how things stood as to the war. I told them what had happened to some of the black inhabitants, and that the French Indians were likely to do a great deal of mischief, etc. They seemed to be very much concerned. There were about thirty of them, out of which number nine offered themselves to go with me or my son Sammy to Wills' Creek and serve as outscouts against the French and their Indians, and to protect the poor people settled about those parts; and it was agreed that they should meet me or my son at this place in ten days hence, and that in the meantime I was to obtain your Honor's leave and a proper pass. This morning Captain Glassier, express from the East, arrived at this place with the agreeable news of the defeat of the French at Nova Scotia, and the taking of the French men-of-war by Admiral Boscawen. I read and explained the printed paper to the Indians, and they expressed a good deal of satisfaction and pleasure with the news. Captain Glassier gave me to understand that he should be very glad if some of these Indians would accompany him to the English camp, with the dispatches he had for the General, in this dangerous time. I proposed it to the Indians. They approved of the thing. But having intelligence of your Honor's coming up, and that you would

be in Lancaster this day, they would hear and receive your approbation ; and have accordingly desired me to stay with them at this place till your Honor's arrival, which I have promised to do, and have sent the bearer here of express to let your Honor know of this and to receive further order. I am, sir,

Your very obedient and humble servant,

CONRAD WEISER.

John Harris' Ferry, July 9, 1755.

To the Hon. Gov. Morris.

P. S. Captain Glassier is in a great hurry, and if it is not convenient for your Honor to be up here in such time as is expected, let your order and passport for this end come.

NO. XXXIV.

Conrad Weiser to Gov. Morris, 1755.

Honored Sir :

I must inform you that on the same day you left John Harris', about twenty-five Indian women and children arrived from Aucquick, and only one man with them. They say that it was agreed upon, when their husbands and young men went to the English army under General Braddock, they should come down to the inhabited parts, where they should be provided for ; and as they had nobody to hunt for them, they could not live without being somehow assisted by their brethren, the English, ; and that a good many more were on their way coming down.

I bought 500 weight of flour and gave it to them, and gave orders to John Harris that when the rest ar-

rived, to give them some flour also, till the Governor's pleasure should be known, which I desire your Honor will signify to me or John Harris as soon as possible.

Jonathan and John Shekallamy will stay among the inhabitants till they hear from your Honor concerning the English army and Gen. Braddock.

Our people are very malicious against our Indians. They curse and damn them to their faces and say, "Must we feed you, and your husbands fight in the meantime for the French, etc.?"

I am your Honor's most obliged and faithful, humble servant, CONRAD WEISER.

To the Hon. Gov. Morris.

Heidelberg, Berks Co., July 21, 1755.

NO. XXXV.

CONRAD WEISER TO GOV. MORRIS, 1755.

HONORED SIR:

I received your commands on the 7th of this instant last past, and accordingly I set out next day for John Harris' Ferry. Coming there, I found that Scarroyady and a good many more were gone up the river, in order to settle about Shamokin, at least to hunt thereabout the next season.

Tohashwughtonionty (commonly called the belt) was there still with Seneca George and five or six more elderly men, and others to the number of fifty or sixty, including women and children. The belt came immediately, with three more to shake hands with me, and after I had called for some drink, I told them that I came up in consequence of their late express, which was delivered

to me in writing and verbal, and that I had sent it to the Governor of Pennsylvania immediately after I had received it by express, and was ordered by the Governor to come up and desire them to repeat their request over again to me for fear of any mistake in the interpretation. To this they agreed, and the belt made answer and said: "Brother, we have been told several times by several of our good friends, the people of Pennsylvania, that in case a war should break out between our brethren, the English, and the French, we must come and live nigh our brethren, and that they would support our wives and children while we are at war. So we did send for you to hear how that is, because we have never been told so in form as from the Government; and as some of our people have been tired here, we agreed to settle at Shamokin, and let our brethren, the Governor and the people of Pennsylvania, know that we did so, and to desire them to assist us with some provisions." Then the belt went and fetched a string of wampum and told me that by that string of wampum he was to inform their brethren of what he had just said, and according to what was agreed upon in their Council to ask some assistance, and to desire me to go to Philadelphia myself and solicit their cause.

Here he gave the string of wampum.

I made answer that I had heard of such a thing being moved in the House of the Councillors of Pennsylvania, but that I never heard of the conclusion, nor had I ever received an order to acquaint our brethren, the Indians, so, and that I wondered that they did not mention anything in Philadelphia, where they had been so many days; but let that be as it will (said I), the Coun-

cillors of Pennsylvania will meet in a few days, and your brother, the Governor of Pennsylvania, will certainly lay it before them, and I hope they will consider you, as they have always done, as their brethren; and as I have now brought you a wagon-load of flour, you will hardly want before I return from Philadelphia.

Being informed that twelve of the young men, a few days before I came up, being gone to war to Ohio, in order to scalp some Frenchmen or bring some prisoners alive, I asked them who gave the first motion to that undertaking. The belt made short answer and said Scarroyady's wife moved her brethren Moses and Esras to it, and they the rest; she would have the death of General Braddock revenged on the French. I inquired as strictly as I could, whether or not any white people had any hand in it, but could not find they had. The belt perceived that I was not pleased with the undertaking. He told me, brother, I must let you know what passed among the Six Nations. They have sent a large belt of wampum to the Indians at Adeeky on the Ohio, to let them know that they must now sharpen their arrows and prepare with all speed to engage in the war with the Six United Nations against the French; that they, the Six Nations, were resolved to drive the French away from their lands on the Ohio, which that great General that came from over the sea, with the assistance of Assaragora, could not do because of their pride and obstinacy, and for that reason the Most High punished them; that they, the Indians, ought to consider that in former days they fought the French with sticks and such stuff as growed in the woods, and often beat them; that now they had iron arms, and their brethren,

the English, would assist them with everything necessary, and that if they could drive away the French from the Ohio again, the lands would be entirely their's again, and neither of the two Nations (English or French) could have any pretence to it. This the belt confirmed as a truth, and said that these news moved the twelve warriors above, said to be up early and make a beginning.

Tohashwughtonionty (the belt) is a man of very good understanding, has a good countenance, speaks well, and is reckoned amongst the greatest warriors among the Six Nations. I esteem him much.

The belt told me as a piece of news lately come from the French Fort Duquesne, that the Chesagechroanu fell out with the French after the late battle, supposed to be occasioned by dividing of the spoil, and that they, the Chesagechroanus, threw the French hatchet before the French Commander's feet, and told him in anger that they had suffered themselves to be prevailed upon to take up the French hatchet against their brethren, the English, but that from henceforth they would never make use of it anymore and that they were sorry for it, and would resent it at the proper time, and that the French Commander should not reconcile them; that they went away in anger and killed and scalped two Frenchmen on an island within sight of the Fort.

That all the Indians were now gone from Fort Duquesne; that the Commander of that Fort was killed in the late action.

That the French at the said Fort were five hundred men strong, and that the Chesagechroanus had carried off the prisoners they took in the late action, consisting of thirty persons, men and women.

That the said Nation had five hundred men engaged in the late action, and that the French were much afraid of them. I do not rightly know where they live; it is somewhere about the lakes. I have nothing more to add, but am, honored sir,

Your very obedient,

CONRAD WEISER.

Heidelberg, Berks Co., Sept. 12, 1755.

To the Hon. Robert Hunter Morris, Esq.,

Governor of Pennsylvania.

P. S. Though I must wait on your Honor in person in a few days, I wrote this letter to send by the first opportunity.

NO. XXXVI.

CONRAD WEISER TO GOV. MORRIS, 1755.

HONORED SIR:

By this I inform your Honor that my sons have returned from Shamokin, where they have been by your Honor's order to acquaint our friendly Indians of the success of General Johnson against the French on Lake George. Sammy was poorly when your Honor's orders arrived, therefore did not care to venture alone, so took one of his brothers with him. The Indians were exceedingly pleased with the news, and returned thanks to your Honor for giving them such early notice.

On the 1st instant Tohashwughtonionty (the belt), with Sigarea, James Logan and Jonathan, arrived at my house and made the following speech:

"Brother Onas (the belt speaker): We let you know that upon certain news we received a few days ago from

Oneida, one of the Six United Nations, we have agreed among ourselves to settle at Shamokin, and to summon and exort all our Indian brethren to come and settle there and live and die with us.

"We, therefore, desire you to supply us with provisions, powder, lead, tobacco and vermilion, and as it is most certain by the last message we received a few days ago from Oneida, that war is proclaimed between the Six United Nations and the French and their Allies, those of the Six Nations that have French hearts may go to their wicked father Onontio (we hope a very few will.) The Six United Nations with their Allies will certainly chastise Onontio for his wickedness. We pray brother Onas and the people of Pennsylvania not to leave us in the lurch, but to supply us with necessaries to enable us to fight the French. This is the earnest request of us, the warriors, the Councillors, and our wives and children."

Here he gave a large string of wampum.

As to the provisions, I explained to them the resolve of the House of General Assembly, at which resolve they were glad and returned thanks.

As to the ammunition, I told them I would send their speech to Onas (the Governor of Pennsylvania), for him to consider it with the wise men of Pennsylvania, who would soon meet. As soon as they resolved upon anything, they, our brethren, the Indians at Shamokin, should know. They desired me to recommend their case in the best manner I could, and I promised to do it. The Indians will go away to-morrow. I have nothing to add, but am, honored sir, your very obedient,

CONRAD WEISER.

Heidelberg, Berks Co., Oct. 4, 1755.

NO. XXXVII.

CONRAD WEISER TO GOV. MORRIS, 1755.

HONORED SIR:

I take this opportunity to inform you that I received news from Shamokin that six families have been murdered on John Penn's creek, on the west side of the Susquehanna, about four miles from that river. Several people have been found scalped and twenty-eight are missing. The people are in a great consternation and are coming down, leaving their plantations and corn behind them. Two of my sons are gone up to help one of their cousins with his family down. I hear of none that will defend themselves but Geo. Gabriel and ——. The people down here seem to be senseless, and say the Indians will never come this side of the Susquehanna river; but I fear they will, since they meet with opposition nowhere. I don't doubt your Honor heard of this melancholy affair before now, by way of Lancaster, perhaps more particular, yet I thought it my duty to inform you of it; and when my sons come back, I will write again, if they bring anything particular. I have heard nothing of the Indians that are gone out to fight the French on the Ohio. Their going, I fear, has been the occasion of this murder. I have nothing to add, but am, honored sir,

Your very humble servant,
CONRAD WEISER.

Reading, October 22, 1755.

NO. XXXVIII.

Conrad Weiser to Gov. Morris, 1755.

Heidelberg, Berks Co., Oct. 26, 1755,
At 5 o'clock in the evening.

Sir:

Just now two of my sons, Frederick and Peter, arrived from Shamokin, where they have been to help down their cousin with his family. I gave them orders before they went, to bring me down a trusty Indian or two to inform me of the present circumstances of Indian affairs, but they brought none down. They saw Jonathan, but he could not leave his family in these dangerous times. Whilst they were at George Gabriel's, a messenger came from Shamokin, sent by James Logan, one of Shekallamy's sons, and Capachpiton, a noted Delaware, always true to the English, to let George Gabriel know that they had certain intelligence that a great body of French and Indians had been seen on their march towards Pennsylvania, at a place where Zinaghton river or rivers comes out of the Allegheny Hills, and if the white people will come up to Shamokin and assist, they will stand the French and fight them. They said that now they want to see their brethren's faces, and well armed with smooth guns—no rifled guns, which require too much cleaning. They in particular desired the Company of men gathered at George Gabriel's, Captain McKee's and John Harris', they being informed that people had gathered there, and that they are extremely concerned for the white people's running away, and said they could not stand the French alone. This message was delivered to George Gabriel and about ten

whites more, among whom were my two sons, by a Delaware Indian named Enoch, and a white man called Lawrence Bork, who came with the Indians as a companion. The Indians' messenger that brought the news to Shamokin from the Indians living up the river Zinachton (the north-west branch of the Susquehanna), arrived at Shamokin at midnight before the 23d instant. The Indians are extremely concerned, as my son tells me. People are coming away in great hurry, the rest that stay plundering the houses and making the best of other people's misfortune. The French want to see Jonathan taken prisoner, etc. All this in great hurry. I pray, good sir, don't slight it. The lives of many thousands are in the utmost danger. It is no false alarm. I am, honored and dear sir,

Your very obedient,

CONRAD WEISER.

P. S. If a body of men would go up, they could gather plenty of Indian corn, beef and other provisions. Now everything is in the utmost confusion. I suppose in a few days not one family will be seen on the other side of the Kittatinny Hills.

NO. XXXIX.

Conrad Weiser to James Read, 1755.

Heidelberg, Oct. 26, 1755, 11 P. M.

Mr. James Read:

Loving friend: This evening, about an hour ago, I received the news of the enemy having crossed the Susquehanna and killed a great many people, from Thomas McKee down to Hunter's mill. Mr. Elders, the min-

ister of Paxton, wrote this to another Presbyterian minister in the neighborhood of Adam Read, Esq. The people were then in meeting, and immediately desired to get themselves in readiness to oppose the enemy, and to lend assistance to their neighbors. Mr. Read sent down to Tulpehocken, and two men, one that came from Mr. Read, are just now gone, that brought in the melancholy news. I have sent out to alarm the townships in this neighborhood, and to meet me early in the morning at Peter Spicker's, to consult together what to do, and to make preparations to stand the enemy, with the assistance of the Most High. I write you this that you may have time to consult with Mr. Seely and other well-wishers of the people, in order to defend your lives and others. For God's sake, let us stand together and do what we can, and trust to the hand of Providence. Perhaps we must, in this neighborhood, come to Reading, but I will send armed men to Susquehanna, or as far as they can go, for intelligence. Pray let Sammy have a copy of this, or this draft for his Honor, the Governor. I have sent him about three hours ago expressly to Philadelphia, and he lodges at my son Peter's. Dispatch him as early as you can. I pray, beware of confusion. Be calm, you and Mr. Seely, and act the part as fathers of the people. I know you are both able, but excuse me for giving this caution. Time requires it. I am, dear sir,

Your very good friend and humble servant,

CONRAD WEISER.

To James Read, Esq., at Reading.

NO. XL.

CONRAD WEISER TO GOV. MORRIS, 1755.

MAY IT PLEASE THE GOVERNOR:

Since the date of my last letter, which I sent expressly by Sammy Weiser, dated last Sunday evening, at 5 o'clock, about 11 the same night I sent a letter to Mr. Read in this town, who forwarded it to your Honor by the same opportunity. The following account of what has happened since, I thought was proper to lay before your Honor, to wit: After I had received the news that Paxton people, above Hunter's Mill, had been murdered, I immediately sent my servants to alarm the neighborhood. The people came to my house by break of day. I informed them of the melancholy news and how I came by it, etc. They unanimously agreed to stand by one another and march to meet the enemy, if I would go with them. I told them, not only myself, but my sons and servants should go. They put themselves under my direction. I gave orders to them to go home and fetch their arms, whether guns, swords, pitchforks, axes, or whatsoever might be of use against the enemy, and for three days' provisions in their knapsacks, and meet me at Benjamin Spicker's, at 3 o'clock that afternoon, about six miles above my house in Tulpehocken township, where I had sent word for Tulpehocken people also to meet. I immediately mounted my horse and went up to Benjamin Spicker's, where I found about one hundred people, who had met before I came there; and after I had informed them of the intelligence I had, and promised to go with them as a common soldier, and to be commanded by such officers

and leading men, whatever they might call them, as they should choose, they unanimously agreed to join the Heidelberg people, and accordingly they went home to fetch their arms and provisions for three days, and came again at 3 o'clock. All this was punctually performed, and about two hundred men were at Benjamin Spicker's by 2 o'clock. I made the necessary disposition, and the people were divided into Companies of thirty men each. They chose their officers, that is, a Captain over each Company and three inferiors under him, each to take care of ten men and lead them on, or fire, as the Captain should direct. I sent privately for Mr. Kurtz, the Lutheran minister, living about a mile off, who came and gave an exhortation to the men, and made a prayer suitable to the time. Then we marched towards the Susquehanna, having first sent about fifty men to Tolkeo, in order to possess themselves of the gaps or narrows of the Swatara, where we expected the enemy would come through, with a letter to Mr. Parsons, who happened to be at his plantation. We marched about ten miles that evening. My Company was now increased to upwards of three hundred men, and mostly well armed, though about twenty men had nothing but axes and pitchforks. All unanimously agreed to die together, and engage the enemy wherever they should meet them—never to inquire the number, but fight them, and so obstruct their marching further into the inhabited parts, till others of our brethren should come up and do the same, and so save the lives of our wives and children. This night the powder and lead came up that I sent for early in the morning, from Reading, and I ordered it in care of the officers, to divide it among

those that wanted it most. On the 28th, by break of day, we marched, our Company increasing all along. We arrived at Adam Read's, Esq., in Hanover township, Lancaster county, about 10 o'clock. There we stopped and rested till all came up. Mr. Read had just then received intelligence from the Susquehanna by express, which was as follows: That Justice Forster, Capt. McKee, John Harris and others, forty-nine in number, went up to Shamokin to bury the dead bodies of those that had been killed by the enemy on John Penn's Creek; and coming up to George Gabriel's, about five miles this side of Shamokin and on the west side of the Susquehanna, they heard that the dead bodies had been buried already, and so they went along to Shamokin, where they arrived last Friday evening and were seemingly well received, but found a great number of strange Indians, though Delawares, all painted black, which gave suspicion, and Thomas McKee told his companions that he did not like them, and the next morning, that is, last Saturday, they got up early, in order to go back, but they did not see any of the strangers; they were gone before them. Andrew Montour was there, painted as the rest. He advised our people not to go the same road they came, but to keep this side of the Susquehanna and go the old road; but when they came to the parting of the roads, a majority was for going the nighest and best road, and so crossed the Susquehanna, contrary to Andrew Montour's counsel, in order to go down on the west side of that river as far as Mahanoy. When they came to John Penn's Creek, in going down the bank, they were fired upon from this side by Indians that had waylaid them. Some dropped down dead;

the rest fled and made towards the Susquehanna and came to this side, and so home as well as they could. Twenty-six of them were missing and not heard of as yet, last Monday evening. Upon this we had a consultation, and as we did not come up to serve as guards to the Paxton people, but to fight the enemy if they were come as far as we first heard, we thought best to return and take care of our own townships. After I had given the necessary caution to the people to hold themselves in readiness, as the enemy was certainly in the country, to keep their arms in good order, and so on, I discharged them, and so we marched back, with the approbation of Mr. Read. By the way we were alarmed with a report that above five hundred Indians had come over the mountain, at Tolkeo, to this side, and had already killed a number of people. We stopped and sent a few men to discover the enemy, but on their return it proved to be a false alarm, occasioned by that Company I had sent that way the day before, whose guns getting wet, they fired them off, which was the case of my Company. On their returning, they fired off their guns, not considering the ill consequence, and the whole township through which we marched, were very much alarmed. In going back, I met several messengers from other townships about the Conestoga, who came for intelligence and to ask me where their assistance was necessary, promising that they would come to the place where I should direct. I met also at Tulpehocken above one hundred men, well armed as to fire-arms, ready to follow me, so that there were in the whole about five hundred men in arms that day, all marching up towards the Susquehanna. I and Mr. Adam Read counted those that were

with me. We found them to be three hundred and twenty.

I cannot send any further account, being uncommonly fatigued. I should not forget, however, to inform your Honor that Mr. Read has engaged to keep proper persons riding between his house and the Susquehanna, and if anything materially shall occur, he will send me tidings to Heidelberg, or here, which I shall take care to dispatch to you. I find that great care has been taken at Reading to get people together, and nearly two hundred were here yesterday morning; but upon hearing that the people attending me were discharged, the people from the country went off without consulting what should be done for the future, through the indiscretion of a person who was with them and wanted to go home, and near the town they met a large Company coming up and gave such accounts as occasioned their turning back. I think most of the inhabitants would do their duty, but without some military regulations we shall never be able to defend the Province. I am sure we are in great danger, and by an enemy that can travel as Indians do, we may be surprised when it would be impossible to collect any number of men together to defend themselves, and then the country would be laid waste. I am quite tired and cannot say more than that

I am your Honor's most obedient servant,

CONRAD WEISER.

Reading, October 30, 1755.

NO. XLI.

Conrad Weiser to William Allen, 1755.

Reading, October 30, 1755.

Kind Sir:

I have but just time to acknowledge the receipt of your favors of the 27th, having arrived last night in this town. As you will have the perusal of the letter I wrote to the Governor, I need not repeat matters over, but only informing that I think all our Indians are gone off with the French, or rather joined them, because they could not stand their ground against the French and their Indians; and what is worse, I am afraid the French are about fortifying themselves this side of the Allegheny Hills, if not on the Susquehanna about Shamokin, where they will find and have found plenty of provisions, as the country is deserted by its inhabitants, leaving their corn and cattle behind them. The reason of my fear is, because Mr. Adam Read told me that a young man lately arrived on the Susquehanna from Ohio, who said for positive that about 1,500 French and Indians crossed the Allegheny Hills at the head of Rinacson river, and that actually a part of them had been at Shamokin, which last proves to be true, as you will see in the Governor's letters that the young man I mentioned was taken prisoner by the French last summer in the unhappy action, and some Delaware Indians got his liberty from the French, promising two scalps from Pennsylvania, and they, the Indians, set him at liberty, or he made his escape as far as Adam Read's. He also gave out that the enemy told the Delawares that if they would assist, they would repossess them of their native

country and bring the people under their command. The common cry of the people here is for arms and ammunition, and regulations from the Governor and Assembly. I believe the people in general up here would fight. I had two or three long beards in my Company —one a Mennonite, who declared he would live and die with his neighbors. He had a good gun with him. I must conclude and subscribe myself, honored sir,

Yours, &c.,
CONRAD WEISER.

NO. XLII.

CONRAD WEISER TO GOV. MORRIS, 1755.

Heidelberg, Nov. 2, 1755—at night.

HONORED SIR:

I am going out early next morning with a Company of men, how many I cannot tell as yet, to bring away the few and distressed families on the north side of the Kittatinny Hills yet alive (if there are yet alive such.) They cry aloud for assistance, and I shall give as my opinion to-morrow in public meeting of Heidelberg and Tulpehocken townships, that the few that are alive and remaining there (the greater part have come away) shall be forewarned to come to the south side of the hills, and we will convey them to this side. If I don't go over the hills myself, I will see the men so far as the hills and give such advice as I am able to do. There can be no force used. We are continually alarmed, and last night I received the account of Andrew Montour. Bell, Scarrioady and others wanting me to come up with my men to John Harris' Ferry, and to consult with

them, I sent an account for my not coming with my son Sammy, who set off by break of day this morning, with an invitation to the Indians to come down to my house for consultation. The same message I had ventured to send by George Gabriel, I send by Sammy, a copy of which No., the very same I sent by George, is here enclosed. When I received the letter from Harris' Ferry, signed by several, among whom was Mr. J. Galbreath and Mr. James Ellison, being late in the night, I dispatched a messenger after George, and he came back this morning. Here enclosed, as said before, is his errand. I hope to see my son back again to-morrow night with intelligence. That is one reason why I cannot go over the hills. My son Peter came up this evening from Reading, at the head of about fifteen men, in order to accompany me over the hills. I shall let him go with the rest. Had we but good regulations, with God's help we could stand at our places of abode, but if the people fail (which I am afraid they will, because some go, others will not, some mock, some plead religion, and a great number are cowards), I shall think of my and my family's preservation and quit my place, if I can get none to stand by me to defend my own house. But I hope you will excuse this hurry. I have no clerk now, and had no rest these several days, nor nights hardly. I am, honored sir,

Your obedient,

CONRAD WEISER.

NO. XLIII.

CONRAD WEISER TO GOV. MORRIS, 1755.

Germantown, Nov. 7, 1755—6 P. M.

HONORED SIR:

I arrived here just now with Andrew Montour, Scarroiady and drunken Zigera. They would go to Philadelphia, to know what we would do for them or not, and all that I could tell of them, was to no purpose. I think they are very good friends with the rest of the Indians on the Susquehanna. The question is, whether we are their's. They say they will have in plain terms how things shall be. Since my last, three persons have been buried—killed by the enemy. Witnesses, two of my sons and the Coroner of Berks county are gone up, and will make report to your Honor (I believe) accordingly. The rest I must defer till I have the satisfaction to wait upon your Honor, who am George Kast's, honored sir,

Your most obedient,
CONRAD WEISER.

NO. XLIV.

CONRAD WEISER TO GOV. MORRIS, 1755.

HONORED SIR:

On my return from Philadelphia I met in Amity township, Berks county, the first news of our cruel enemy having invaded the country this side of the Blue Mountains, to wit: Bethel and Tulpehocken. I left the papers as they were in the messenger's hands, and hastened to Reading, where the alarm and confusion was

very great. I was obliged to stay that night and part of the next day, to wit, the 17th instant, and set out for Heidelberg, where I arrived that evening. Soon after, my sons Philip and Frederick arrived from the pursuit of the Indians, and gave me the following relation: That on last Saturday, about four o'clock in the afternoon, as some men from Tulpehocken were going to Dietrich Six's place, under the hills, on the Shamokin road, to be on the watch appointed there, they were fired upon by the Indians, but none hurt nor killed (our people were but six in number, the rest being behind), upon which our people ran towards the watch-house, which was about one-half of a mile off, and the Indians pursued them, and killed and scalped several of them. A bold, stout Indian came up to one Christopher Ury, who turned about and shot the Indian right through his breast. The Indian dropped down dead, but was dragged out of the way by his own companions (he was found next day and scalped by our people.) The Indians divided themselves into two parties. Some came this way, to meet the rest that were going to the watch, and killed some of them, so that six of our men were killed that day, and a few wounded. The night following, the enemy attacked the house of Thomas Brown, on the Swatara Creek. They came to the house in the dark night, and one of them put his fire-arm through the window and shot a shoemaker (that was at work) dead on the spot. The people being extremely surprised at this sudden attack, defended themselves by firing out of the windows at the Indians. The fire alarmed a neighbor, who came with two or three more men. They fired by the way and made a great noise,

scared the Indians away from Bower's house, after they had set fire to it, but by Thomas Bower's diligence and conduct, it was timely put out again. So Thomas Bower, with his family, went off that night to his neighbor, Daniel Schneider, who came to his assistance. By eight o'clock parties came up from Tulpehocken and Heidelberg. The first party saw four Indians running off. They had some prisoners, whom they scalped immediately; three children lay scalped yet alive, one died since, the other two are likely to do well. Another party found a woman just expired, with a male child on her side, both killed and scalped. The woman lay upon her face. My son Frederick turned her about, to see who she might have been, and to his and his companion's surprise they found a babe about fourteen days old under her, wrapped up in a little cushion, his nose quite flat, which was set right by Frederick, and life was yet in it, and it recovered again. Our people came up with two parties of Indians that day, but they hardly got sight of them. The Indians ran off immediately. Either our people did not care to fight them, if they could avoid it, or (which is more likely) the Indians were alarmed first by the loud noise of our people's coming, because no order was observed. Upon the whole, there are about fifteen of our people killed, including men, women and children, and the enemy not beat, but scared off. Several houses and barns are burned. I have no true account how many. We are in a dismal situation. Some of these murders have been committed in Tulpehocken township. The people left their plantations to within six or seven miles from my house. I am now busy putting things in order, to defend my house against another attack.

Guns and ammunition are very much wanted here. My sons have been obliged to part with most of that which was sent up, for the use of the Indians. I pray your Honor will be pleased, if it lies in your power, to send us up a quantity upon any condition. I must stand my ground, or my neighbors will all go away and leave their habitations to be destroyed by the enemy or our own people. This is enough of such melancholy account for this time. I beg leave to conclude, who am, sir, Your very obedient,

CONRAD WEISER.

Heidelberg, Berks Co., Nov. 19, 1755.

P. S. I am creditably informed just now that one Wolff, a single man, killed an Indian the same time when Ury killed the other, but the body is not found yet. The poor young man since died of his wound through his belly.

To Governor Morris.

NO. XLV.

Conrad Weiser to Gov. Morris, 1755.

May it Please the Governor:

That night after my arrival from Philadelphia, Emanuel Carpenter and Simon Adam Kuhn, Esqs., came to my house and lodged with me. They acquainted me that a meeting was appointed (of the people of Tulpehocken, Heidelberg and adjacent places) in Tulpehocken township, at Benjamin Spicker's, early next morning. I made all the haste with the Indians I could, and gave them a letter to Thomas McKee, to furnish them with necessaries for their journey. Scarujade

had no creature to ride on. I gave him one. Before I could get done with the Indians, three or four men came from Benjamin Spicker's to warn the Indians not to go that way, for the people were so enraged against all the Indians, and would kill them without distinction. I went with them, as also the gentlemen before named. When we came near Benjamin Spicker's, I saw about four or five hundred men, and there was a loud noise. I rode before, and in riding along the road (and armed men on both sides of the road) I heard some say, why must we be killed by the Indians and we not kill them? Why are our hands so tied? I got the Indians to the house with much ado, where I treated them with a small dram, and so parted in love and friendship. Captain Dieffenback undertook to conduct them (with five other men) to the Susquehanna. After this, a sort of a counsel of war was held by the officers present, the gentlemen before named and other freeholders. It was agreed that 150 men should be raised immediately, to serve as outscouts, and as guards at certain places under the Kittatinny Hills for 40 days. That those so raised to have two shillings per day, and two pounds of bread, two pounds of beef and a gill of rum, and powder and lead. (Arms they must find themselves.) This scheme was signed by a good many freeholders and read to the people. They cried out that so much for an Indian scalp they would have (be they friends or enemies) from the Governor. I told them I had no such power from the Governor nor Assembly. They began, some to curse the Governor; some the Assembly; called me a traitor to the country, who held with the Indians, and must have known this murder beforehand. I sat in the

house at a low window. Some of my friends came to pull me away from it, telling me that some of the people threatened to shoot me. I offered to go out to the people and either pacify them or make the King's proclamation. But those in the house with me would not let me go out. The cry was: *The land was betrayed and sold.* The common people from Lancaster county were the worst. The wages, they said, were a trifle, and said somebody pocketed the rest, and they would resent it. Somebody had put it into their heads that I had it in my power to give as much as I pleased. I was in danger of being shot to death. In the meantime a great smoke arose under the Tulpehocken Mountain, with the news following that the Indians had committed murder on Mill Creek (a false alarm) and set fire to a barn. Most of the people ran, and those that had horses rode off without any order or regulation. I then took my horse and went home, where I intend to stay and defend my own house as long as I can. There is no doings with the people without a law or regulation by the Governor and Assembly. The people of Tulpehocken all fled; till about six or seven miles from me some few remain. Another such attack will lay all the country waste on the west side of the Schuylkill. I am, sir,

Your most obedient,

CONRAD WEISER.

Heidelberg, Berks Co., Nov. 19, 1755.

NO. XLVI.

Conrad Weiser to Gov. Morris, 1755.

Honored Sir:

We, the subscribers hereof, being met together to think on means how to withstand our cruel Indian enemy, thought fit to acquaint your Honor of the miserable condition the back inhabitants of these parts are in:

1) Since the last cruel murder committed by the enemy, most of the people of Tulpehocken have left their habitation. Those in Heidelberg move their effects. Bethel township is entirely deserted.

2) There is no order among the people. One cries one thing, and another another thing. They want to force us to make a law that they should have a reward for every Indian which they kill. They demanded such a law of us, with their guns cocked, pointing them towards us.

3) The people are so incensed, not only against our cruel enemy, the Indians, but also (we beg leave to inform your Honor) against the Governor and Assembly, that we are afraid they will go down in a body to Philadelphia and commit the vilest outrages. They say they would rather be hanged than to be butchered by the Indians, as some of their neighbors have been lately, and the poverty that some are in, is very great.

4) Yesterday we sent out about seventy men to the mountains, to take possession of several houses, and to range the woods along the mountain in Berks county, on the west side of the Schuylkill. The same number are sent to the back parts of Lancaster county. We

promised them two shillings per day, two pounds of bread, two pounds of beef, and a gill of rum a day, and ammunition, and that for forty days, or till we shall receive your Honor's order. We persuaded ourselves, your Honor will not leave us in the lurch. We must have done such a thing, or else leave our habitation. If no worse, and all this would not do, we and others of the freeholders have been obliged to promise them a reward of four pistols for every enemy Indian man they should kill. Many things more we could mention, but we don't care to trouble your Honor any further, do therefore conclude, and beg leave to subscribe ourselves, honored sir,

Your very humble servants,
CONRAD WEISER,
EMANUEL CARPENTER,
ADAM SIMON RUHM.

P. S. I cannot forbear to acquaint your Honor of a certain circumstance of the late unhappy affair. One —— Kobel, with his wife and eight children, the eldest about fourteen years and the youngest fourteen days old, was flying before the enemy, he carrying one, and his wife and a boy another of the children, when they were fired upon by two Indians very nigh, but hit only the man on his breast, though not dangerously. They, the Indians, then came with their tomahawks, knocked the woman down, but not dead. They intended to kill the man, but his gun (though out of order, so that he could not fire) kept them off. The woman recovered so far, and seated herself upon a stump, with her babe in her arms, and gave it suck; and the Indians driving the children together, and spoke to them in High Dutch,

"*Be still—we won't hurt you.*" Then they struck a hatchet into the woman's head, and she fell upon her face with her babe under her, and the Indian trod on her neck and tore off the scalp. The children then ran. Four of them were scalped, among whom was a girl of eleven years of age, who related the whole story. Of the scalped, two are alive and likely to do well. The rest of the children ran into the bushes, and the Indians after them, but our people coming near to them, and hallooed and made noise. The Indians ran, and the rest of the children were saved. They ran within a yard by a woman that lay behind an old log, with two children. There were about seven or eight of the enemy. I am, honored sir, Your obedient,

CONRAD WEISER.

I intend to send a wagon down to Philadelphia for blankets and other necessaries for the people on their guard under the mountain, and I hope it will be then in your Honor's power to supply us.

NO. XLVII.

CONRAD WEISER TO GOV. MORRIS, 1755.

HONORED SIR:

Nothwithstanding my hurry in leaving Philadelphia, I got no further than here, being obliged to stop on the way, especially in this county, to consult with some of the Magistrates and others about the present alarm of broadheads, etc., being cut off according to a warrant to the Constables of Northampton county by Justice Horsfield. The people of this town and county are in very great consternation. Most of them in this town are but

day laborers; owing money; are about to leave. They have nothing at all wherewith to support their families. All trade is stopped, and they can get no employment, and except the Government takes about thirty or forty of them into pay, to guard this town, they must go off and the rest will think themselves unsafe to stay, and the back inhabitants will have no place of security left for their wives and children when they are out, either against their enemy, or taking care of their plantations and cattle, and when things should come to extremity. I have signed a recommendation for a Captain's commission to John Lesher in Oley. One Conrad Care for Lieutenant and Eberhard Martin for Ensign should have been included. John Lesher had a Captain's commission from your Honor before the act was made. I gave it to him according to your Honor's direction. I would be so free as to recommend Jonas Seely, Esq., as a fit person to serve the Province as an officer in Companies that will be employed as outscouts. He is a man of conduct and courage. The same I can say of Mr. Christian Bussey, the doctor of this town. He is a hearty and very worthy person, has neither wife nor child, and will do all what he can to recommend himself to the Government. This country is in a dismal condition. Believe me, kind sir, that it can't hold out long. Consternation, poverty, confusion parties are everywhere. If no haste is made for our relief, I cannot stay, but must move with my family to any place of better security than this. I can add nothing agreeable. Must therefore conclude, who am, honored sir,

Your very obedient,

CONRAD WEISER.

Reading, December 13, 1755.

NO. XLVIII.

CONRAD WEISER TO GOV. MORRIS, 1755.

HONORED SIR:

Last night I arrived from John Harris' Ferry, and herewith inform you that I did not reach my home in Heidelberg, Berks county, till the 14th instant. I set out on the 16th from Harris' Ferry, where I found no Indians, but the old belt and another Seneca, commonly called Broken Thigh, a lame man.

Their young men, about six or seven in number, being sent out by John Harris to fetch scalps from Ohio, but stopped at Aucquick by Mr. Croghan, I sent for Thomas McKee, John Carson and Samuel Hunter to John Harris', to consult with them how to send your Honor's message to the Indians on the west branch of the Susquehanna. They recommended one Hugh Crawford to me, on whom I prevailed to go to Aucquick with the message, and from there send Indians to the west branch of the Susquehanna with it, and if the Indians thought it advisable, to go with them and conduct them down the river, either himself or James Pattison (who is to go along with him to Aucquick.) I had the two old Indians in council with me. They received the message from me, and Hugh Crawford received the wampum I gave, and necessaries for them and the written invitation from me, in presence of the above named gentlemen. I hope he will go through with it.

Upon my first arrival at John Harris', I gave a string of wampum to the two old Indians above mentioned, requesting them to look upon me as a public messenger from their brother Onas, and desired them, in

his behalf, to let me know all that they knew about this war, and who it was that murdered Onas' people, and for what reason ?

Next morning they made answer to the following purport: Brother, we are glad to see you here once more in these troublesome times. We look upon you as our brother Ona's messenger, as we always did. The author of the murder of the people of Pennsylvania is Onontio. He employs his children for that purpose, and they came to this river (Susquehanna) to murder. We are sorry to tell you that they have prevailed upon our cousins, the Delawares, living about half way from Shamokin to Schantowano (Wayomock), in a town called Nescopeckon. Those Indians have given their town (in defiance of us, their uncles) to Onontio's children as a place of their rendezvous, and had untertaken to join and guide them on the way to the English. That thereupon the Shekallamys and others of the Six Nations fled towards the Six Nation country. That a report was spread among the Delawares on that river, that the Pennsylvanians were coming with thousands, to destroy the Indians on the Susquehanna, which had occasioned the Six Nation Indians before named to fly, because they would not fight against their brethren nor the Indians, and that everything was in a great confusion. I am, honored sir,

Your most obedient,

CONRAD WEISER.

Heidelberg, Berks county, Dec. 22, 1755.

P. S. Your Honor will have heard by this time that Paxton people took an enemy Indian on the other side of the narrows, above Samuel Hunter's, and brought

him down to Carson's house, where they examined him. The Indian begged his life and promised to tell all what he knew to-morrow morning, but (shocking to me) they shot him in the midst of them, scalped him and threw his body into the river. The old belt told me that as a child of Onontio he deserved to be killed, but that he would have been glad if they had delivered him up to the Governor, in order to be examined stricter and better. I am, honored sir,

Your most obedient,

CONRAD WEISER.

December 22, 1755.

To Governor Morris.

NO. XLIX.

CONRAD WEISER TO GOV. MORRIS, 1756.

MAY IT PLEASE THE GOVERNOR:

I was required, by some of the gentlemen of the Commissioners, to wait on your Honor, about this time, in order to assist in settling the presents for Scarroiady and other Indians now in town, and as you are engaged in company, I thought it convenient to put my thoughts about that affair in writing, which are as follows:

To Scarroiady a suit of clothes, and 40 or 50 dollars in money to Andrew Montour; as the Governor and the gentlemen, the Commissioners, please, he is to have more than Scarroiady, and he can talk with your Honor and the Commissioners himself.

Jonathan was not hired by the Government, but went up with the two former, at their request, and suffered or underwent the same danger. He should have a suit of clothes.

The rest should all be clothed, and a few dollars in their pockets. If any stay with us, they should fare as well as those that go away.

Silver Hill should be bribed to stay.

The women should each have a strout matchcoat, a shirt, a pair of Indian stockings, a few dressed deer skins for shoes—perhaps undressed will do for those that stay. The above is my simple opinion, which I submit to your Honor, who am,

Your very obedient,

CONRAD WEISER.

April 17, 1756—about 5 P. M.

NO. L.

Conrad Weiser to Gov. Morris, 1756.

Honored Sir:

Immediately after my return from Philadelphia, I sent orders to Captains Busse, Morgan and Smith, to meet me at Fort Henry, on the 9th instant, to consult together over certain measures, how to oppose the enemy of killing the people in reaping and gathering in their harvest. The evening before, on the 8th instant, Mr. Young arrived with your Honor's orders to me. I therefore set out next morning, about 5 o'clock, for Fort Henry, in company with Mr. Young, as far as Benjamin Spicker's. I arrived at Fort Henry by 10 o'clock. Captain Busse met me with an escort of eight men on horseback, about six miles on this side of Fort Henry. About 12 o'clock Captains Morgan and Smith arrived. I immediately made your Honor's orders known to them, and the following disposition was made: That

eight men of Captain Smith's Company shall assist the people in the whole (the place where twice murder was committed) to gather in their harvest, and stay over night in the Moravian house; eight of his men to range westward of his Fort, under the Hill, and if occasion require, to be stationed in two parties, to guard the reapers; sixteen men are to be in and about the Fort, to help and protect the neighbors, but constantly ten of the sixteen to stay in the Fort; nine men are to stay constantly in Manity Fort, and six men to range eastward from Manity towards the Swatara, and six men to range westward towards the Susquehanna. Each party so far, that they may reach their Fort again before night. Captain Busse's Company stationed as follows: Ten men at Bernhard Tridel's, next to the Moravians; eight men at Casper Snebely's, and six men at Daniel Shuey's or Peter Klopp's. All these are westward of Fort Henry. Eastwards, Captain Busse is to post four men at Jacob Stein's, three men at Ulrich Spies', six men at widow Kendall's, and the rest, consisting of nineteen men, to remain in the Fort. Captain Morgan's Company, as follows: Six men to range from the little Fort on North Kill, westward to the Emerick's, and stay there if the people unite to work together in their harvest; six men to range eastward, on the same footing; eight men to stay in that Fort; fifteen men are to stay in Fort Lebanon; eight men to protect the people over the hill, in harvest time; ten men to range constantly eastward or westward, and if the people return to their plantations thereabouts, to protect those first that join together to do their work.

All the aforesaid men are posted as much in a range as was possible, and would suit the settlement best.

Your Honor will observe that there are not men enough left in the Forts to change or relieve the men on duty, but scarcely sufficient to keep the Forts, and send provisions to the several posts.

I did propose to the Captains to make a draft of about twenty-five men out of the three Companies, and send them over the hills to a certain place on Kind Creek, to lie in ambush there for the enemy, for about ten days; but the large frontier which they have to guard with their men, would not admit of it at this time, so I was therefore obliged to give over that point.

A great number of the back inhabitants came to the Fort that day and cried out for guards. Their situation is indeed desperate. About forty men from Tulpehocken have been out for their protection, but they soon got tired, and arose disputes and quarrels in order to get home again.

I hear that the people over the Susquehanna will have protection, cost what it will. If they cannot obtain it from the English, they will send to the French for it. I believe (by what I did hear) that some on this side of the river are of the same opinion, at least there is such a mumbling among the back inhabitants.

I must mention to your Honor that when the people about the Swatara and the Hole heard of Captain Smith being accused for neglect of duty, they wrote a letter to me in his favor, which I send by Sammy Weiser, who can translate it if your Honor orders him to do it. I also send a letter from Captain Busse, which contains the particulars of the last murder. I received it by the way coming from Philadelphia, and stopped the express (as it was only to me), in order to save charges.

As I had no clerk for some time, I wrote a general letter yesterday to all the Commanding officers eastward from Fort Henry to Easton, with a copy of your Honor's orders enclosed. I could not send every one a copy, but ordered them to take it themselves and send it forward immediately.

Just this moment my son Sammy arrived from Fort Henry, and tells me that there had been an engagement at Caghnekacheeky, wherein twelve on our side were killed, and six Indians; that our people kept the field and scalped the Indians, and that the Indians ran off without any scalp. As bad news as it is, I wish it may be true.

I have at present no more to trouble your Honor with, but remain, sir,

Your very obedient and humble servant,

CONRAD WEISER.

Heidelberg, Berks Co., July 11, 1756.

P. S. I should have told your Honor that I keep a Sergeant, with nine private men of my Company, at Fort Henry, under Captain Busse, with the priviso that they shall stay in the Fort and defend it when the Captain's men are on their several posts or ranging. The Captain must keep a ranging party all along. To-morrow another Sergeant marches from Reading with nine men, to relieve those of my Company that have been out now two weeks. I am, sir, &c.,

CONRAD WEISER.

To Governor Morris.

NO. LI.

C. WEISER AND WM. PARSONS TO GOV. DENNY, 1756.

SIR: Easton, Nov. 6, 1756.

By the enclosed copy you will perceive that we were informed of the occasion of this mighty panic, and have taken such measures as our best understanding could advise upon the occasion. It did not, however, affect us so much as to induce us to give his Honor any trouble about it, till his arrival here, and if we could have thought there was any great weight in the report, we should not have been so much wanting in our duty as not to have informed his Honor by express. The Indians here are somewhat uneasy that they cannot see their brother, the Governor, yet, and we have quieted them to this time by telling them he would certainly come to-day, and what we shall say to them next, we don't know yet. We are afraid, lest this delay should occasion the Indians to suspect some designs of the English against them, and so from mutual suspicion of each other, something worse may follow. At present the Indians seem quiet and secure, and if they could get liquor enough, all of them would get drunk. We are, both of us, in so bad health that we dare not venture to ride in the night, apprehending more danger from the night air than from the Indians. We pray his Honor will be pleased to pursue his journey to Easton, along the old road. Mr. Weiser, with as many of the officers and townsmen as can get horses, intend to do themselves the honor to meet him. You will please to make our best compliments to his Honor from, sir, your obedient and humble servants,

CONRAD WEISER,
WM. PARSONS.

NO. LII.

CONRAD WEISER TO R. PETERS, 1756.

December 31, 1756.

SIR:

I cannot own that I borrowed the horse of Bigs, but I think I was present when Mr. Richard Peters did, and that John Pompshare had the horse from Philadelphia to Easton, and from thence to Fort Allen, where he got Deedious Kon to speak to me to let him have the horse. I told him that the horse was none of mine; I could not give him to anybody. "*What is a horse?*" says Deedious, "to the Governor of Pennsylvania. Let me have him, and tell my brother, the Governor, that you gave him to me." I told Deedious Kon that I would write in favor of Pompshare, in order to get the horse from the Governor; but Deedious had the impudence to ask a bill of sale of me for the horse, which I put off from hour to hour, till I was just going, and I was in no way inclined to give him any writing, but he, Deedious Kon, called witnesses that I had promised Pompshare the horse if found again (the horse being then lost), and so I parted with them. If you or any of the gentlemen Commissioners had been there, you could not have refused to give the horse to Deedious Kon. He was so much concerned for Pompshare, whom he called his faithful servant, that he would have bought the horse for him if I would have taken goods in consideration for it. This is all that I can say of this affair.

The Indian woman Maryred, that came down with New Castle, wants to be sent back to the Mohawk coun-

try. I believe with Jigerea she is a bold beggar. I cannot give her anything more, having from time to time given her and Jigerea some small matter. She came down so low that she now begs a pair of worsted stockings, for which I recommend her to you, who am, sir, yours,

CONRAD WEISER.

I am to get my money this day, by 10 o'clock, of Mr. C. Norris.

Philadelphia, Dec. 31, 1756.

NO. LIII.

Conrad Weiser to R. Peters, 1757.

Easton, July 15, 1757.

Sir:

I received your favors of the 15th, per express. Part of it I have answered in my letter to the Governor this day as to rooms and bedding. I have been out to look and send others out, and find that good beds and clean rooms are either scarce or taken up. Mr. Parsons, you know, has moved into his new house, and there are several clever rooms in that house that are designed for the Governor. I bespoke the two rooms in Mr. Parson's old house, where you and the Governor lodged last year. It will suit two of the gentlemen you named, very well, if not three. The rooms are clean; the beds I call good. But, perhaps, those gentlemen will differ with me in opinion. Let them peradventure send beds in a wagon, though I think there is not much occasion for it. Several tolerable good rooms may be had here, but bedding is wanted. I bespoke a room at Kichlein, and I would

part with mine for the gentlemen, but a public house would, perhaps, not suit so well. But let the gentlemen that you named, come. I don't doubt at all they will be pleased.

In the letter to the Governor I gave an account of the murder committed last Saturday, and of the guard I expect in this town in a few days.

The Indians seem to be in very good temper, and signified great satisfaction on my coming, and I have strong hopes that something effectually will be done, or may be done with them, if there won't be too many cooks, and if busy bodies would stay at home. I wish you health and happiness, hoping to see you all soon. I am, dear sir,

Your very humble servant,
CONRAD WEISER.

To R. Peters, Esq., Sec. to the Government,
in Philadelphia, per James Anis, Jr.

NO. LIV.

Conrad Weiser to Gov. Denny, 1757.

Easton, July 18, 1757.

Honored Sir:

I thought it necessary to inform your Honor that last night the guard intended to protect the ensuing Treaty arrived in this town from the several Forts between the Susquehanna and the Delaware, consisting in the whole of 105 men, including officers, who are as follows, viz: Captain Busse, Lieutenants Wetherholt and Hyndshaw, Ensigns Snyder and Biddle, the bearer hereof, and Ensign Kern.

The Indians are altogether good humored, and Teedyuscung, considering how much he loves strong liquor, behaves very well, and I have not seen him quite drunk since I came to this town. I find that they are very desirous to come to a lasting peace with us.

Yesterday, about sunset, we were alarmed by a woman who came running into town as if distracted, and reported that her husband and some of her children were killed by the Indians, and soon after some of her children came with the same report. I ordered ten men on horseback to go to the place with all possible speed (the place being two miles from this town), who returned and said that the alarm was false. They found the man alive and undisturbed, no Indians having been there. To relate the particulars here would be too tedious. In the meantime the Indians took the alarm and came to me greatly concerned. The cry of the common people, of which the town was full, was very great against the Indians, and the poor people did not know what to do or what to say, finding all the people so enraged and using such language. However, I had the good luck to pacify both the white people and the Indians. Teedyuscung ordered his young men to get ready to pursue the murderers, and some of them actually came up to my lodgings with their arms to receive orders from me. I told them I expected to have a messenger immediately from the officer I sent, and then I would give the proper orders. When they returned, I wrote a few lines to Teedyuscung, letting him know that the alarm was false, of which he and the rest of the Indians were very glad.

The common people behave very ill, in asking the Indians unbecoming questions and using ill language.

I have been obliged to put one of the Jersey people under arrest, and another into prison, but at the instance of Teedyuscung I discharged them again, with a caution to behave better for the future. The Indians long with impatience to see your Honor here and desired me to write to you with the strongest words I could think of to hasten your coming. I heartily agree with them and promise myself to have the satisfaction of seeing your Honor soon. I am, honored sir,

Your obedient and most humble servant,

CONRAD WEISER.

To the Hon. William Denny, Esq.,
Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief
of the Province of Penna., in Philadelphia.

NO. LV.

Conrad Weiser to Gov. Denny, 1757.

Reading, October 1, 1757.

Honored Sir:

I arrived this morning at this place, and the enclosed letter was presented to me. As I am in a hurry to go home, I send it as it is. Captain Oswald, upon hearing the distress the people about North Kill were in, sent immediately two Lieutenants, with forty private men, to their assistance, which gained him the esteem and love of his town's people. I cannot describe the consternation the people are in, in these parts. I humbly entreat your Honor to pity our cause and give orders that the men belonging to the first Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment, now at Fort Augusta, may all return to their proper or former stations. When this present

trouble is over, I will very gladly send a reinforcement again, either to Fort Augusta or wherever your Honor pleases. It is certain that the enemy is numerous on our frontiers, and the people are coming away very fast, so that the forts are left to themselves with the men in them, but no more neighbors about them. I hope your Honor will pity our cause. I am, honored sir,

Your very obedient and most humble servant,

CONRAD WEISER.

To the Hon. William Denny, Esq.,
Governor of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia.

NO. LVI.

Conrad Weiser to R. Peters, 1757.

Heidelberg, Berks Co., Oct. 4, 1757.

Sir:

I did not think of the post till he entered my doors, else I would have written particularly to the Governor, though I have been very busy in writing to the Commanding officers of the several Forts under my care. It has now come so far that murder is committed almost every day. There never was such a consternation among the people. They must now leave their houses again, with their barns full of grain. Five children have been carried off last Friday. Some days before, a sick man was killed upon his bed. He begged of the enemy to shoot him through his heart, upon which the Indian answered, I will, and did so. A girl that had hid herself under a bedstead, in the next room, heard all this. Two more families were about that time destroyed. Enclosed is the journal of last month of my ensign at North Kill.

Captain Busse lies dangerously sick at John Harris'. I hear he is tired of everything. I have neither men nor a sufficient number of officers to defend the country. If his Honor would be pleased to send orders to recall all the men belonging to my Battalion from Fort Augusta, he would justly bring unto him the blessing of the Most High. I cannot say any more. I think myself unhappy. To fly with my family in this time of danger, I cannot do. I must stay, if they all go. I am now preparing to go to Fort Henry, where I shall meet some officers to consult with, what may be best to be done. I have ordered ten men, with the Governor's last orders, to Fort Augusta. I shall overtake them this evening at Fort Henry and give them proper instructions. For God's sake, dear sir, beg of the Governor, press it upon him in my behalf and in behalf of these distressed inhabitants, to order my men back from Fort Augusta. I will give my reason afterwards that I am in the right. I conclude with my humble respects to his Honor, and remain, kind sir,

Your most humble servant,

CONRAD WEISER.

Excuse my hurry.

NO. LVII.

Conrad Weiser to Gov. Denny, 1757.

Honored Sir:

According to my last, I went up to John Harris' Ferry to visit Captain Busse, where I found him in a very poor condition, but he told me that he was much better than he had been the day before; and after two

hours' conversation, he went to Hunter's Fort, by water, though against my advice, as he had Lieutenant Philip Marsloff with him, and Ensign Kern by my order (not knowing that Marsloff was there) was come up to wait on the Captain, &c. Kern had but half an hour to stay, when he was ordered by me to follow the Captain by land, with an escort of four men of the Battalion under my command. Before he set off, he informed me that on the 12th instant a French deserter or spy came down the hill near Fort Henry and made towards Dietrich Six's house, which the Centry of the Fort observing, acquainted the Commanding officer of the Fort thereof, who sent an officer and two soldiers to seize and bring him into the Fort, which was accordingly done. I ordered, by express, my son Samuel, who commanded at the Fort on the Swatara, to march with a ranging party with all possible speed and care, and take the said prisoner and convey him safely down to my house in Heidelberg, where he arrived safely with the prisoner about noon yesterday. I examined the prisoner by such an Interpreter as I could get, but thought fit to bring him down hither, to have a more full examination by the assistance of Captain Oswald and Mr. James Read, and accordingly came here with him last night. The paper enclosed and a fusee were found in his possession. The examination I left to Captain Oswald and Mr. Read, who will transmit a fair copy to your Honor. As I have no men to spare in this dangerous time, and Captain Oswald has been so kind as to offer a party of the regulars under his command here to guard the prisoner to Philadelphia, I have accepted of his offer, and accordingly put him into custody of the guard appointed

by the Captain, which I hope will not be disagreeable to your Honor. I am, honored sir,

Your most humble servant,

CONRAD WEISER.

Reading, October 16, 1757.

To the Hon. William Denny, Esq.,
Lieut. Gov. of the Province of Pennsylvania,
and Territories, in Philadelphia.

NO. LVIII.

CONRAD WEISER TO W. PETERS, 1757.

DEAR SIR:

The enclosed is directed to nobody. I should, perhaps, have directed it to your brother or William Smith, but I must leave it to you and them to judge for me as my friends. I had not time to make my remarks on several other paragraphs, but there is too much to be said to them, and I don't choose to be too deeply concerned in a paper war; besides, Mr. Richard Peters as Secretary has the records, and can answer for the conduct of the Governor, especially that of Mr. Morris about his declaration of war against the Shawnese and Delawares by the advise of the Indian Chiefs then in Philadelphia. See what our messengers Scarroiady and Andrew Montour said on their return. Compare it to what Lancaster treaty says, and the said Chiefs advised a declaration of war against those villains. The meetings at Israel Pemberton's is a nice point, and cost money, but how to escape the resentment of those revengeful people is another point. The post waits and I must conclude. What is wanted more from me, I

should be glad to have it in questions. I hear of nothing new here, of which I am glad. My health is as yet unsettled. I am, dear sir,

Your most humble servant,

CONRAD WEISER.

Heidelberg, Berks Co., October 27, 1757.

To Wm. Peters, Esq., in Philadelphia.

NO. LIX.

Conrad Weiser to Gov. Denny, 1757.

A few weeks since, a copy of the address of the Friendly Association, signed by Abel James, dated Philadelphia, 14th of the seventh month, presented to the Governor, in Easton, came to my hands. I was not a little surprised to see my name made use of in a very unjust way, and cannot help taking notice of it, with my remarks on some paragraphs therein. First. The author of that paper says, "Some of us having the opportunity of a free conference with Conrad Weiser, who, as Provincial Interpreter, has long been concerned in public transactions with the Indians, we were, thereby, confirmed in our apprehensions that some dissatisfaction respecting their lands had tended to the alienating of their friendship from us, &c."

I wish the author had set forth when and where that conference was, and who were present. Perhaps I could then call to mind what passed further; for what is said above is not the whole truth. My words, it seems, are brought in to countenance an unjust design; that is to father a great part of the mischief done by the Indians on the proprietors of Pennsylvania. Whatever I did say, I

never said that the proprietors of Pennsylvania had wronged the Indians out of any land; which, if I had, would be notoriously false, for, though long concerned in public transactions with the Indians (as the author of the paper says), I never heard of a regular complaint made by an Indian council against the proprietors of Pennsylvania, being wronged out of land. It is true, some of the stragglers among them, when they wanted more rum, would frequently complain and say that they had been cheated; which will be the case always, as long as there are any Indians, and as long as they can get rum. If the Delaware Indians have been wronged out of any land, they themselves know very well by whom they are so wronged. And it is known to others also, that had the Friendly Association asked a certain person about this affair, they might have been truly informed, and in their proceedings would have found the truth; and it would have been in their power (as they have wealth and credit) to satisfy the complainants, and under the countenance of the Governor, as peace might have been made last year, and a great deal of bloodshed prevented; and I dare say, a better peace than we now have, could then have been made. I say, if the Friendly Association had gone on, according to their first innocent project, of which some of them very early made me acquainted at the house of Thomas Lightfoot, in Philadelphia. I promised them all the assistance I was capable of, provided the Governor should be made acquainted therewith, and I have his leave. But things, on a sudden, took another turn. The Association was (as I think) imposed upon by some designing men of theirs. The proprietors of Pennsylvania must be first

charged with wronging the Indians out of some of their lands. C. W. must be brought in as a witness. We must arrange his words, so that those who do not know better, must understand them so. But I say, go afar off, satan; notwithstanding thy flattery, I will never countenance falsehoods, much less promote lies. I will only trouble you at present with one more remark of mine on the paragraph, where the author of the address says, that from that time it was generally known that one cause of the alienation of their friendship was some injustice they had received, or supposed to be done them in the purchase and running out of their lands. It will appear in a clear light to all impartial men by a little inquiry that these Indians, when they first came down to the Treaty at Easton, came without complaints about land; nor did the three messengers who were sent up to them into their own country, bring any such report to the Governor, but soon after the Treaty I read words in the German newspaper that Teedyuscung shall have said, which I never heard of before, and Teedyuscung made use of in the following Treaty, and at that in November following. Some persons appeared so eager to bring the cause of the war, or a great part thereof, on the proprietors' back, that they forgot all reasonable discretion. One in particular, when the Governor came out of the house one evening, near night, where the Conference was held, accompanied by the Chiefs of the Indians, came and gave a certain Indian a wink, not observing me. The Indian followed him behind the house. Another that walked on my side took notice of it. "See, there," says he, "Mr. J. P. is still busy." The Indian came back to his rank again. "Well," said

P., "what did our friend I. say to you?" "Not much," said M. "No, but let us know it." "Why," said M., "I. told me that now was our time to speak boldly, and not to spare or fear anybody." At this Treaty the Indians learned our weakness, by being informed of our divisions. Here prudence bids me to go no further. But I am surprised that at the Treaty in Lancaster the two Chiefs, Abraham and Thomas, behaved so steady, considering how long they were there, and what temptations of corruption they lay exposed to.

When I have more leisure and more convenient time, I shall acquaint you whom the Delaware Indian charges with having wronged them. The present time will not admit to speak of without danger. If those concerned in the Government would take the thing in hand, and that privately, some good might still be done. I am, sir,

Your most humble servant,

CONRAD WEISER.

Heidelberg, Berks Co., Oct. 27, 1757.

NO. LX.

CONRAD WEISER TO R. PETERS, 1758.

Reading, June 21, 1758.

SIR:

The second division of wagons from the county of Berks are now going off for Philadelphia, in order to load stores of Mr. Joshua Howel's, for the use of the army, commanded by his Excellency, General Forbes. This division consists of 26 wagons. Four more are fitting out here, so that there will be 56 good, strong wagons from this county in this service. Each wagon

is completely furnished with four able horses and an expert driver, according to the direction of the General or Colonel Bouquet; all (but four) contracted voluntarily with me. I apppointed over each division a deputy wagon master, to serve as such till it shall be otherwise ordered by the proper officer or officers. Both understand smith and wheelright work. Their names are John Esher and Jacob Weaver, freeholders of Berks county; have the English and the German tolerably well. I furnished them with money of my own, but have since received by order of Colonel Bouquet, through means of Mr. Adam Hoops, my own again, and what else was wanting. May the Most High prosper our labor with success, is the hearty wish of, dear sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

CONRAD WEISER.

The township of Tulpehocken furnished 10 wagons, and paid bounty money to some. My son, Frederick, and one of his neighbors, furnished one between themselves.

To Richard Peters, Esq.,
Secretary to the Government, in Phila.

NO. LXI.

Conrad Weiser to R. Peters, 1758.

Sir:

If the Governor will not meet the Indians this evening, only to shake hands with them, and signify his satisfaction to see them in town, and leave business till another day when they are recoverd from their fatigue, I will say that he does not act the part of a well wisher

to his majesty's people and interest in these critical times. You may let him know so. Here is my hand to my saying so. I am, sir, a loyal subject, and a well wisher to my country.

CONRAD WEISER.

Philadelphia, July 6, 1758—half an hour after five.

NO. LXII.

CONRAD WEISER TO R. PETERS, 1758.

Reading, July 29, 1758—5 P. M.

SIR:

I can but acknowledge the receipt of yours by Mr. Benjamin Davis' express. I shall do all what lies in my power in the mentioned service. I intend to set out for Carlisle, if it pleases God, to-morrow afternoon, or towards the evening, to wait on General Forbes. I can say no more at present, but on my return, which, I hope, will be about the time of the Reading court, I will give you all the intelligence I can. I am, sir,

Your very obedient,

CONRAD WEISER.

To Richard Peters, Esq., per Mr. Benj. Davis.

NO. LXIII.

CONRAD WEISER TO R. PETERS, 1759.

Reading, January 18, 1759.

SIR:

The bearer of this is John Heberling, a neighbor of John Follmer, sent on purpose by Jacob, to settle with the land office for Follmer's lands. Hans George Mey-

erly, the man to whom Follmer sold a part of his land, and says that he got a patent for the whole, behaves very insolent towards Follmer. I would recommend poor Follmer's cause again to your care. He sent his son along with John Heberling, to show his sincere request. It is thought the old man will not overcome his present illness.

Reading (I understand) must receive three Companies of Highland soldiers. The tavern-keepers are under the greatest consternation, having received nothing as yet for last year's quartering of soldiers. Some are taking down their signs, having received great abuses last year. I, for my part, do not know how to billet them, as the late Act of Assembly is expired, whether the Act of Parliament is sufficient. The tavern-keepers would rather victual them and find all what is wanted, if they could be sure of their pay, according to what is allowed by the Act of Parliament. A word of advice from yourself, or Mr. Peters, would be extremely agreeable to me at this time. I am, sir,

Your very humble servant,

CONRAD WEISER.

I am in a hurry. I have sent young Follmer home again to his father. Think Heberling sufficient.

Mr. Richard Peters.

NO. LXIV.

Conrad Weiser to Capt. Trump, 1760.

Capt. Trump, under date of Fort Augusta, January 28, 1760, wrote to Conrad Weiser, and received the following reply:

SIR:

Yours of the 28th last past came to hand last night, for which I thank you; but as I am at present lame and obliged to keep my room, it is impossible for me to make the journey. Be pleased to acquaint John Shekallamy of this. I am very glad in the meantime to hear from him, and should be more so, if he would (if he is in health) come and visit me, with a couple of his friends or brothers. I should make them heartily welcome, for which purpose I send him the enclosed string of wampum. He may safely come by way of Fort Henry. Your care will provide necessaries for him. With my hearty good wishes to you, and other gentlemen officers at Fort Augusta, I remain, sir,

Your very humble servant,

CONRAD WEISER.

NO. LXV.

CONRAD WEISER TO GOV. HAMILTON, 1760.

Reading, February 18, 1760.

HONORED SIR:

It is about two weeks ago, when I received an express from Fort Augusta, forwarded by Captain Trump, at the instance of John Shekallamy, now a noted man among the Indians on the waters of that river, with a string of wampum. A copy of Captain Trump's letter is here enclosed. I, immediately after the receipt thereof, sent a copy of the letter, and my answer to it, to the Secretary. Whether the letter was miscarried or the Secretary being from home, I don't know. I was desirous to have something of an answer to it, though as

I then thought, John's invitation might not signify much, yet I am since informed by some soldiers coming from Fort Augusta, that the Indians about there are much displeased, and the invitation might be of some consequence. If your Honor orders it, Sammy Weiser shall go up to Fort Augusta for intelligence. My answer to John Shekallamy was, that I could not travel by this severe weather, and that I was lame, but gave him a kind invitation by a string of wampum, to come with his brother, or some other friend, to see me, and confer with me of things he had on his mind, and I would make them welcome. I have nothing to add, but am, honored sir,

Your very obedient and most humble servant,

CONRAD WEISER.

To Governor Hamilton.

I give my best compliments to your Honor, and if it is your commands that I shall go to Fort Augusta, according to the within letter of my father, I will, with pleasure, obey your Honor's commands, who am, your Honor's most obedient and very humble servant,

SAM. WEISER.

To the Hon. James Hamilton, Esq.,
Gov. of the Province of Pennsylvania, in Phila.,
per James Kemer, Esq.

CONRAD WEISER'S JOURNALS.

NO. I.

Report of His Journey to Shamokin.

On the 30th of January, 1742, in the evening, I received the Governor's order, together with the deposition of Thomas McKee, and set out next morning, in company with the said McKee, for Shamokin, over Backstone, where we arrived on the first day of February. That same day the said McKee's two men arrived with two canoes loaded with skins from Chiniotte. They informed us that they met ten warriors, who asked them for a little provision, which they (the Indian traders) gave them—the Indians being very civil to them, but told nothing of what had happened in Virginia. We were also informed by white people there, that four Shawnese Indians had been there as scouts, sent by the Shawnese to get intelligence what the white people were doing. On the third day of February we overtook the said Shawnese about twenty-five miles this side of Shamokin, at an Indian trader's house. They ran into the house when they saw us coming, and sat down in the same corner of the house where their arms were. Every one of them had a cutlass besides their guns, and one of them, who was a brother of Cheekaqueton, had a pistol. The Indian trader's wife told us, while we alighted from

our horses, that these Shawnese had ill designs and talked very unfriendly. I went into the house first and shook hands with them. Their hands trembled, and none of them hardly looked into my face till I sat down and began to talk with them in the Mohawk language. They said they could not understand me. By that time McKee and one John —— (who was pleased to accompany me to Shamokin from Backstone) came in. I desired them to tell the Shawnese that I was sent by the Governor of Pennsylvania with a message, both to the Indians at Shamokin and thereabout, as also to the Six Nations, about the unhappy accident that happened lately in Virginia. They seemed to be well pleased with that. They never saw me before, neither had I seen them before, but understood by my companions, who could both talk Shawnese, that the oldest of them was Missemediqueety, a Captain of war, and a very noted man among the Shawnese. The English call him the great huminy. They accompanied us to Shamokin, where we arrived that day after sunset. Shekallamy and Olumapies were very glad to see me. They informed us that there were several Indians at Shamokin from several places, waiting for me with news from the Governor of Pennsylvania. I told them that the next day they should hear the message from the Governor. On the 4th they met at Shekallamy's house about twenty-five men. The noted persons besides Shekallamy were Saghsidowa, a Chief of the Tuscaroras (who was present at the last Treaty in Philadelphia), Olumapies and Lapapeton of the Delawares, the aforesaid Shawnese, with several more of the said Nation, and Andrew, the son of Madam Montour, who served for Interpreter to

the Delawares. And because Shekallamy was mourning for his cousin killed by the Virginians lately, I directed my speech first to him, according to the custom of the Six Nations, and in order to comfort him, in behalf of the Governor, I told him :

"Brother Shekallamy, you have just cause to mourn for the loss of your cousin killed in Virginia lately. I, also, am sensible of the grievous accident, but as the public welfare calls for your aid at this time, I have been sent to comfort you and to wipe off the tears from your eyes, and, in short, to put your heart at ease, for which purpose I present you with these two strowds." Then I spoke to the whole company :

"Brethren, according to the Treaty betwixt the Governor of Pennsylvania and the Six Nations, which has been renewed last summer, there is an established road from Philadelphia to the Six Nations, on which, at any time, Conrad Weiser and Shekallamy may travel and carry messages from one to the other. According to that establishment I have sent Conrad Weiser to acquaint you with what follows (hereupon I laid down a string of wampum) :

"Brethren, I myself and the people of Pennsylvania are sensible of the unhappy accident that happened in Virginia betwixt the white people and your warriors. We mourn for it, because not only the white people are our brethren, and belong to the same great King on the other side of the great Lake, to whom we belong, but we, also, are become one people with the Six Nations, of one body, one heart, and one mind. I, therefore, desire that immediately Shekallamy and one or two more may forthwith proceed to Onondago, to ac-

quaint the Council of the Six Nations with the steps taken by me since I heard first of the unhappy accident. To press this upon you, this string of wampum is laid before you.

"Brethren, I have acquainted the old and wise men in Pennsylvania, who are now sitting and holding council, with what I heard by Thomas McKee, and informed them of every particular, as the ten warriors had told the story to the Indians living on or near the Great Island. I had also heard some uncertain stories before, but had received no letter as yet from the Governor of Virginia. The aforesaid old and wise men desired me to become mediator, and to use my endeavors to bring both the Governor of Virginia and the Six Nations to a better understanding than they have been hitherto. I, therefore, earnestly require of you, my brethren, the Six Nations, to have no recourse to arms, but rather accommodate the matter with the Governor of Virginia in an amicable way. I have sent to the Governor of Virginia to acquaint him with what is agreed upon by me and my Council; and as the Governor of Maryland sent for you last fall to come to Annapolis, in order to settle everything about the land, and the Governor of Virginia joined with him to accommodate all old quarrels with you about the land, if possible; I am very sure that this unhappy accident will be accommodated then also, since it was done only by people of ill conduct, and not by the Governor of Virginia's order. I must put you in mind of the Treaty of friendship subsisting between us, and by virtue of that, I earnestly press upon you, with this belt of wampum, to accommodate the matter amicably. (Here I laid down a large belt of wampum.)

"Brethren, as the aforesaid unhappy accident gave some disturbance to the trade, and may give more if early measures are not taken to prevent it, I desire you to return the goods again which some of you, the Shawnese in particular, have taken from the traders. I desire you will immediately send to every place where the traders of Pennsylvania are in their favor. It would be violating the Treaty of friendship, if they should suffer by you; and in case you do not like their stages amongst you, send them home regular and unmolested. (I laid down a string of wampum.) Dixi, I have no more to say."

Olumapies, in behalf of the whole company, made answer and said:

"Brother, the Governor of Pennsylvania: I long expected to see Conrad Weiser, your messenger, with your advice at this dangerous time, and I have now heard your speech to us and do like it very well, and give you thanks for your so doing. I do not doubt it will be taken well by the Council of the Six Nations."

The string of wampum concerning the trade was delivered to the Shawnese. They took upon themselves to send immediately to the Great Island and Allegheny in favor of the traders.

I had been informed before Council that Wapymagon, a Shawnese Indian from Woyamock, came to the Great Island and told the Shawnese there that, according to Caykawachykee's order, they must open the trader's store and divide the goods amongst themselves, which they did accordingly, and robbed Thomas McKee's store. Shekallamy, after he heard that, sent his son to the Great Island to get the goods returned, since

Caykawaychykees, the Shawnese Chief, never gave such order, as Shekallamy was creditably informed.

I sent a strout match-coat to Cayhkawachykee by the aforesaid four Shawnese, and let him know that I always remember what he said to me, when I first paid him a visit, at his own fire, at Woyamock, and that I hoped he would always be of the same mind, as he lived about half way from Philadelphia to the Six Nations, to take care of the chain of friendship betwixt the Six Nations and Pennsylvania, and never do nor suffer any of his people to do any injury to the said chain of friendship, and always observe the good Council of the Six Nations and the Governor of Pennsylvania.

Next day Olumapies held a Council of Delawares. He sent for me and Shekallamy and Saghsidowa. He told us in Council that he had no wampum, and they were very dear, so that he could not do as he would have done, if he had been able. Yet he sends that string of wampum (which he then had in his hand) jointly with his brother, the Governor, to Onondago, to assist him like or as a token of his approbation.

I had made Olumapies a present before of a strout match-coat from the Governor, and told him that as he had always been a good friend and observer of Treaties, the Governor sent this to him to cover his old body.

Made Saghsidowa a present of a strout match-coat, to make him shoes to travel to Onondago with Shekallamy and his son. They were to set out on the 9th instant, and stay at Onondago till the Council was summoned, and attend it and not come away without a full answer, both to this affair and the message of the Governor of Maryland sent to them last fall.

The following is the narrative of one who calls Shekallamy his grand-father. He was present in the engagement in Virginia, and was strictly examined by Shekallamy and exhorted to tell the truth. Shekallamy and Saghsidowa told me that I might assure their brother, the Governor, that it was the truth of the story, as follows:

The young man told Shekallamy, his grand-father, that when they (22 Onondago Indians and 7 Oneidas) got over the Potomac river, nobody would give them a mouthful of victuals. They wanted to go to some Justice, to have their pass renewed, but could find none. They traveled along in great want of victuals. There were no more deer to be killed, and they would have been starved to death if they had not killed a hog now and then, which they did at Jonontore. On the other side of the said hills they laid down their bundles, and sent three of them to look for the road they must go. These three men were met by two white men, who asked them many questions, till a third person of the white came up; then they, all at once, took hold of the Indians' guns, but the Indians would not let them go out of their hands. One of the Indians took out his knife and threatened to stab the white men, upon which they left go the guns and went their way, and the Indians returned to their company and told what had happened to them. The Indian Captain, Onondagoo, told them that it was some foolish people, only not worth while to be taken notice of. They laid there that night. Next day they met with no interruption. But on the following day after this, one white man came up with them, soon after another with a hay fork, and so more and more

until by and by their number increased to about ten. They stopped every now and then, when one of the Indians went on one side of the road and told the Indians to make haste and come along. Some while after they came to a big house, the Indians observed a great number of people in the house; they were invited to come in; the main body staid out some distance from the house. Some of the oldest went in, but more and more white people gathering, the Indians outside called to their friends to come away. The white people would not permit them to go, but sent out a Captain with a sword on his side, to bring the others in, which they refused. In the meantime, those that were in the house thought proper to show their pass which they obtained in Pennsylvania, but the white men told them they must not go any further, upon which the Indians went out of the house. The man with the sword endeavored to stop them with force, and drew his sword. When the others saw the naked sword, they made a field cry and took up their arms, in order to defend themselves, but were commanded by their Captain to be quiet till they were hurt, and to let the white people begin violence. The Indians did not mind the man with the naked sword, but went away, and took up their bundles and traveled all night. They went on one side of the road towards the hills, a good way, and lodged there two nights, consulting what to do, and some hunted for deer. They resolved to proceed on their journey, and set out in the morning and traveled all day peaceably; and at night went again towards the hills for lodging. Early next morning a white man came to their fires and counted them all. They asked where he was going. He said,

to hunt. They mistrusted him very much, when he went off towards the hills. After he got over a little ridge of a hill, he went the other way and ran as fast as he could, which one of the Indians, that went after him as a spy, saw. The Indians hasted away, and when they got into the road again, two boys that were in the rear heard a great talk, and noise of horses, and looked about and saw a great number of white men on horseback, and they called to the foremost that the white men were coming, who ordered them to come up. Then the boys ran, and the white men fired at them, but missed them. The Captain of the Indians, seeing the boys received no hurt, and a white color flying, told the Indians to be quiet, for that a white color was always a token of peace with the white men. Whilst the Indians were laying down their bundles, and their Captain talked to them not to fire till the white men had hurt them, the white men alighted from their horses just by and fired the second time, and killed two on the spot, one of whom was Shekallamy's cousin. The Indians then made a field cry and were commanded by their Captain to fight for life, who, after he had fired off his gun, took to his hatchet and exhorted the stoutest to follow him, and they ran in amongst the white people and did execute with their hatchets, which put the white men to flight immediately. But the Captain would not suffer them to pursue them ; told them that they did not come to fight white men, but the Cawtabaws ; upon which the Indians took up their dead and wounded and went off about two miles, where they gave physic to the wounded, one of whom died there, and there remained four more wounded, three of them not very dangerously, but the

fourth very bad. They missed one out of their number. A relative of his ran and looked for him. He was seen to pursue the white men further than the rest. He was found shot through one of his feet and was brought up to the rest and is likely to do well. He said that he saw two white men drop down not far from him and rise up again, and drop down again, and so on; that he had shot several arrows into the white man's back before he received that shot. Next morning the Captain sent some of the Indians to the place where they had been engaged. They found eight white men on the spot, whom they stripped, and several horses, with some provisions, grazing thereabouts. They sat down for the sake of the provisions, for which they stood in great want. The Indian Captain dispatched ten of his men to Onondago—himself, with the rest and wounded, went up along the river into the mountains, to come home that way. The action happened near the river called by the Indians Galudoghson. These ten men met the two men of McKee's in the woods, asked them for a share of their provisions, which the men gave them, but they told nothing of what had happened.

I left Shamokin on the 6th of February, and came the same way back again, where I arrived on the 9th, at night.

CONRAD WEISER.

NO. II.

Report of His Second Journey to Shamokin.

On the 9th of April, 1743, I arrived at Shamokin, by order of the Governor of Pennsylvania, to acquaint the neighboring Indians and those on the Wyoming that the Governor of Virginia was well pleased with his mediation, and was willing to come to an agreement with the Six Nations about the land his people were settled upon, if it was that they contended for, and to make up the matter of the late unhappy skirmish in an amicable way.

That same day Shekallamy, his son, and Saghsidowa, who had been sent to the Six Nations with an offer of the Governor's mediation to them, returned from Onondago, and the next day they, in open Council, delivered the following message directing their speech in behalf of the Six Nations to the Governor of Pennsylvania, according to what was agreed upon by the Council of the said Indians in Onondago:

"Brother Onas, at this critical time we received a kind message from you, the result of the good friendship existing between you and us. For such purposes a road was cleared from our country to your's, on which, at any time, Conrad Weiser and Shekallamy may travel. We open our doors with cheerfulness to your messengers, and are glad to hear from you."

He laid down two strings of wampum.

"Brother Onas, we thank you for the concern you show for the misfortune that befell our warriors in Virginia. We take it as a particular mark of friendship. We assure you that notwithstanding the unjust treat-

ment our warriors met with in Virginia, we did not allow our heads to be giddy nor to resent it as it deserved, which might have occasioned a violation of Treaties and the destruction of many."

He laid down four strings of wampum.

"Brother Onas, we thank you very kindly for the early steps you made in calling your old and wise men together to consult with them. It was a very prudent and good advice they gave you to become mediator betwixt us, your brethren, and the Virginians, your neighbors. We thank them for such good advice, and we assure you we will accordingly come to an amicable accommodation with the Governor of Virginia, if he will come to reasonable terms. And if a war should break out between us and him, you will be convinced of his being the author of it.

"For when in former times we received a deadly blow, we never returned it, if it was ever so dangerous; we always judged it to be given by disorderly people, and we always used peacable means to make it up; but when we received the second blow, we judged that war was intended against us, and then we arose and knocked down our enemies with one blow, and we are still able to do the same; but now we leave our case to you. We have ordered our warriors with the strongest words to sit down and not to revenge themselves. Therefore, brother Onas, go on with courage in your mediation. We assure you, we will not violate or do anything contrary to your mediation. We desire you and the old and wise men of Pennsylvania not to believe anything to the contrary, let it come from whom it will, until you receive messages from us; we will do the same on our side.

"In confirmation of what we say, we lay down this belt of wampum before you."

Then the speech was directed to the Governor of Maryland.

"Brother, the Governor of Maryland:

"You have invited us to come to your town, and you offered to treat with us concerning the messages we sent to you by our brother, the Governor of Pennsylvania, and to establish good friendship with us. We are very glad you did so, and we thank you for your kind invitation.

"Brother:

"We have a great deal of business and things of moment under our deliberation, and it will take us the best of the day (this summer) before we can finish them. We, therefore, desire you will set your heart at ease, and think on nothing but what is good; we will come and treat with you at Canataquamy to-morrow morning (next spring), since you live so near the sea and at such a great distance from us. We accept kindly of your invitation. Our brother, the Governor of Pennsylvania, recommended your message to us, which he would not have done, if he had not been satisfied your intention was good; we, therefore, promise you by these strings of Wampum to come and treat with you at the aforesaid place."

The speaker laid down four strings of Wampum.

Then the speaker directed his speech to the Governor of Pennsylvania again and said:

"Brother Onas: (*Indian name for Gov. of Penna.*)

"The Dutchman on Scokoonaidy (Juniata) claims a right to the land merely because he gave a little victuals

to our warriors, who stand very often in need of it. This string of Wampum serves (the speaker then took two strings of Wampum into his hands) to take the Dutchman by the arm and throw him over the big mountains within your borders. We have given the river Scokooniady (Juniata) for a hunting place to our cousins, the Delawares, and our brethren, the Shawnese, and we ourselves hunt there sometimes. We, therefore, desire you will immediately by force remove all those that live on the said river of Scokooniady."

Here he laid down two strings of wampum.

Then the speaker, in behalf of Cachawatsiky, the Shawnese Chief at Wyoming, and of Nochetouna, the Shawnese Chief at Ohio, related their answers to two messages that were sent with some strings of wampum by the Council held at Shamokin the first time Conrad Weiser was there. He began with Nochetouna's answer directed to the Governor of Pennsylvania.

"Brother, the Governor of Pennsylvania.

"I live upon the river Ohio as harmless as a little child. I can do nothing. I am but weak, and I don't so much as intend mischief. I have nothing to say, and do, therefore, send these strings of wampum to Cachawatsiky, the Chief man, again. He will answer your message, as he is the older and greater man."

Then Saghsidowa took up the strings of wampum and spoke, in behalf of Cachawatsiky, as follows:

"Brother, the Governor of Pennsylvania:

"The place where I live and the neighboring country have been overshadowed of late by a very dark cloud. I looked with a pitiful eye upon the poor women and children, and then looked upon the ground all along

for sorrow in a miserable condition, because of the poor women and children. In all that dark time a message from you found the way to Shamokin, and when it was delivered to us, the dark cloud was dispered and the sun immediately began to shine, and I could see at a great distance, and saw your good will and kind love to the Indians and the white people. I thank you, therefore, brother Onas, for your kind message. I am now able to comfort the poor women and children."

Here the speaker laid down four strings of wampum.

Then the speaker took up two strings of wampum and directed his discourse to the Delaware Indians, the Shawnese, and to Onas:

"Cousins, the Delawares: We are informed you can talk a little English, by which you pretend to have heard many things amongst white people, and you frequently bring lies amongst the Indians, and you have very little knowledge and regard for Treaties of friendship; you give your tongue too much liberty. This string of wampum serves to tie your tongue and to forewarn you from lies.

"Brethren, the Shawnese:

"You believe too many lies, and are too forward in action. You shall not pretend to revenge our people that have been killed in Virginia. We are the Chief of all the Indians. Let your ears and eyes be open towards us, and order your warriors to stay at home, as we did our's.

"Brother Onas:

"Your back inhabitants are people given to lies and raising false stories. Stop up their mouths. You can do it with one word. Let no false stories be told. It is dangerous to the chain of friendship."

The strings of wampum were delivered to the Delawares.

After the speaker had finished, a handsome Indian dinner was given to all that were present, by Shekallamy's people. After dinner I delivered my message to them, and presented the Company with two rolls of tobacco, about three pounds each roll, to smoke whilst they were in company together, to talk about the good news they had heard that day, according to the custom of the Indians.

Shekallamy told me, by way of discourse, that they (the Council of Onondago) had sent strings of wampum by him to all the Indians upon the river Susquehanna, to tell them to use their endeavors to stop all their warriors, and not permit them to go to fight with the people of Virginia and to acquaint them of what was agreed upon in Onondago, which was accepted of in every town.

I inquired what business of moment the Six Nations had under deliberation, that prevented their coming down to treat with the Governor of Maryland. Shekallamy asked whether I could not guess it. I told him, no. Then he said how should they come down with a hatchet struck in their heads. The Governor of Virginia must wash off the blood first, and take the hatchet out of their heads and dress the wounds (according to custom, he that struck first must do it), and the Council of the Six Nations will speak to him and be reconciled to him, and bury that affair in the ground that it never may be seen nor heard of anymore so long as the world stands. But if the Virginians would not come to do that, he (Shekallamy) believed there would be a

war. But I might assure the Governor of Pennsylvania, the warriors would then not come within the inhabited part of Pennsylvania, but direct their course directly to Virginia, over the big island on the north-west branch of the Susquehanna.

CONRAD WEISER.

NO. III.

Report of His Journey to Onondago.

On the 21st of June, 1743, we arrived at Cachiadachse, the first town of the Onondagos. About noon I heard that the messenger I had sent from Oswego had missed his way and did not arrive there. I, therefore, immediately sent a messenger from this place to the chief town, about five miles off, to acquaint the Chiefs of that Nation of my coming with a message from Onas in behalf of Assaryquoa. They dispatched messengers that day, to summon the Council of the Six Nations. My messenger came back and informed me that the house of Annwaraogon was appointed for our lodging. We set out and arrived at three o'clock in the afternoon. After we had eaten some dry eels boiled in hominy, and some mats had been spread for us to lay upon, Canassatego and Caheshearowano, of the Chiefs, with several more, came to see us and received us very kindly. They asked how their brethren did in Philadelphia, and in particular the Governor, and whether Onas had arrived. I answered that their brethren in Philadelphia were all well, and in the same disposition of mind as they had left them in last year, and in particular the Governor, their brother, was so, who, according to the trust re-

posed in him by Onas, when he left Philadelphia, was always engaged for the good of the public. We smoked a pipe of Philadelphia tobacco together, and had some further discourse on things of no consequence. On the 22d, early in the morning, Tocanontie (otherwise called the black Prince of Onondago) came to see us with Caxhayion and expressed their satisfaction at my coming to Onondago, saying, "you never come without good news from our brethren in Philadelphia." I smiled, and told him it was enough to kill a man to come such a long and bad road over hills, rocks, old trees, and rivers, and to fight through a cloud of vermin, and all kinds of poisoned worms and creeping things, besides being loaded with a disagreeable message, upon which they laughed; and Tocanontie told me that he was extremely glad last night to hear I was coming to Onondago. Canassatego and Caheshearowano, with several more, came to see us again and spent the day with us. We had for the subject of our conversation the occurrences of our journey, and general news. On the 23d it was good weather. I, with Shekallamy, visited Canassatego—desired him to meet us in the bushes to have a private discourse, which he approved of. We met a little way distant from the town. I brought with me my instructions and the wampums I had, and told him that as he was our particular friend and well acquainted, both with Indians' and white people's affairs and customs, I would tell him all my business, and beg his advice how to speak to everything when the Council should be met. He assured me of his good will and affection to the Governor of Pennsylvania and all his people, and that he would do for me what lay in his power. I then explained my in-

structions to him, and showed him the wampum. He told us that what he had heard of me was very good; he must first go and acquaint Caheshearowano with it, and they would then both send for me and Shekallamy, and put us in the way. We broke up immediately, and Canassatego went directly to Caheshearowano and we to our lodging. In the afternoon they sent for me and Shekallamy to the house of Caheshearowano, and I was desired to bring my instructions and my wampums with me. I went along with the messenger to the house of the said Chief, where I found, to my surprise, all the Chiefs of Onondago met in Council. Tocanontie spoke to me after this manner: "Brother, the Chiefs of Onondago are all of one body and soul, and of one mind; therefore Canassatego and Caheshearowano have acquainted us with the whole of what passed betwixt you and Canassatego in the bushes. You have done very well and prudent to inform the Onondagos of your message before the rest of the Councilors meet, since it concerns chiefly the Onondagos, and it will altogether be left to us by the Council of the United Nations to answer your message; be, therefore, not surprised in seeing us all met in Council unexpectedly, and explain the paper to us you have from our brother, the Governor of Pennsylvania," which I did accordingly, and acquainted them with the whole message. They seemed to be very well pleased, and promised they would put everything in such posture that when the Council of the United Nations arrives, I should have an answer soon, and such an one as they did not doubt would be satisfactory to the Governor of Pennsylvania and Assaryquoa; that they had always so much regard for Onas and his peo-

ple that they would do anything for them in their power, and they looked upon the person that kept house for Onas (meaning the Governor) as if Onas was there himself. I thanked them for their good will and left them for this time, knowing they had something to do amongst themselves. Tocanontie was speaker. On the 24th the Council of the Onondagos sat again. Jonnhaty, the Captain of the unhappy Company that had the skirmish last winter in Virginia, was sent for with two more of his companions. He was desired to tell the story from the beginning how everything happened, which he did. He seemed to be a very thoughtful and honest man, and took a deal of time in telling the story. After he had done, I told him I would write it down before I left Onondago, in his presence, to which he agreed, and desired that some of the Chiefs might be present when he was to rehearse it again. In the evening the Cayuga deputies arrived; on the 25th visited Caheshcarawano, and Caxhayion same afternoon. Jonnhaty gave a feast, to which Assaryquoa, whom I represented, and Onas, whom Shekallamy represented, was invited with the Chiefs of the town, about eighteen in number. The feast consisted of a cask of rum, of about two gallons. Several songs were sung before the feast began, in which they thanked Assaryquoa for visiting them. They also thanked Onas (the Governor of Pennsylvania) for conducting Assaryquoa and showing him the way to Onondago. The sun was praised for having given light, and for dispelling the clouds. Then the cask was opened, and a cup of about three-fourths of a gill was filled for Canassatego, who drank to the health of Assaryquoa. Next to him drank Caheshcarowano to the health of the

Governor of Pennsylvania, and after this manner we drank around. The next time the first cup was reached to me by Jonnhaty, who attended the feast. I wished long life to the wise Councilors of the United Nations, and drank my cup, so did Shekallamy and the rest. After that, the kettle was handed around with a wooden spoon in it. Every one took so much as he pleased. Whilst we were drinking and smoking, news came that a deputation of the Nanticoke Indians arrived at Cachiadachse from Maryland. The house of Canassatego was ordained for them, since the Town House was taken up by Onas and Assaryquoa. After all the rum was drank, the usual thanks were given from every Nation or Deputy with the usual sound of Jo-haa, and we parted. On the 26th: In the morning I went to see the Nanticokes. There were six in number. None of them could speak a word of the language of the United Nations. I found there, besides Canassatego, his brother, Zila Woolien, and others. They desired me to stand Interpreter for the Nanticokes (they heard us talk English together), to which I consented. No Deputies were yet arrived from any other Nation. I desired Canassatego to send again to have at least the Oneidas there, as they were concerned in the late skirmish, which was done immediately. On the 27th: No business was done to-day. On the 28th: The Deputies from the Oneidas and Tuscaroras arrived. Aquoyiota, an old acquaintance of mine, came with them. He is a man of about 70 years of age, a native and Chief of the Oneidas. On the 29th: The Onondagas held another private Council, and sent for me and Shekallamy. Everything was discoursed over again, and we agreed that Ca-

nassatego should speak in behalf of the Government of Virginia; and the wampums were divided into so many parts as there were articles to be spoken of; and the goods were to be divided between the families in mourning and the Public Council of the United Nations. A messenger was sent to hasten the Mohawks away from the Oneida Lake, where it was supposed they tarried. They arrived, five in number. On the 30th: About noon the Council then met at our lodging and declared themselves complete, and a deal of ceremonies passed. First the Onondagas rehearsed the beginning of the Union of the Five Nations, praised their grand-fathers' wisdom in establishing the Union or Alliance, by which they became a formidable body. That they (now living) were but fools to their wise fathers, yet protected and accompanied by their fathers' spirit. And then the discourse was directed to the Deputies of the several Nations, and to the messengers from Onas and Assaryquoa, and then to the Nanticokes, to welcome them all to the Council fire, which was now kindled. A string of wampum was now given by Tocanontie, in behalf of the Onondagas, to wipe off the sweat from their (the Deputies' and Messengers') bodies, and God, who had protected them all against the evil spirits in the woods, who were always doing mischief to people traveling to Onondago, was praised. All this was done by way of a song, the speaker walking up and down in the house. After this, the Deputies and messengers held a Conference by themselves, and appointed Aquoyiota to return thanks for their kind reception, with another string of wampum. Aquoyiota repeated all that was said, in a singing way, walking up and down in the house, added more in

praise of their wise fathers and of the happy union, repeated all the names of those ancient Chiefs that established it. "They, no doubt," said he, "are now God's and dwell in heaven." Then proclamation was made that the Council was now opened, and Assaryquoa was to speak next morning in the same house, and due attendance should be given. All these Indian ceremonies took up that afternoon. Jo-haas from every Nation were given. On the 31st, about ten o'clock, the Council of the United Nations met, and Zilla Woolien gave me notice that they were now ready to hear Onas and Assaryquoa speak. I called Canassatego and desired him to speak for me in open Council, as I would tell him, article by article (according to what was agreed upon), which he proclaimed to the Council, and they approved of it, because they knew it required some ceremonies with which I was not acquainted. The speaker then began, and made the following narrative: "*Brethren, the United Nations*, you, Togarg Hogon, our brother, Nittaruntaquaa, our son, also Sonnawantowano and Tuscaroro, our younger sons, you, also, our absent brother Ounghcarrydawy dionen Horarrawe, know ye, that what was transacted last winter at this fire by us and our brother Onas, in behalf of our brother, the Governor of Virginia, known to us by the name of Assaryquoa, was all carefully put down in writing and sent to Assaryquoa, our brother, by our brother Onas, upon the receipt whereof our brother Assaryquoa wrote again to our brother Onas and thanked him kindly for his mediation in healing the breach occasioned by the late unhappy skirmish, and requested the continuance of our brother Onas' good offices; and that the Interpreter might be

sent to Sagogsaanagechtheyky with such instructions as Onas, our brother (who knowing the nature, customs, and the very heart of his brethren), shall think fit. This is all what I have to say about what is past. Now you will hear our brother Assaryquoa himself, who has been brought to our fire by our brother Onas." Then I took up a belt of wampum and told the speaker, Canassatego, a few words, and he proceeded and spoke in behalf of the Governor of Virginia as follows:

1. "Brethren, the United Nations now met in Council at Sagogsaanagechtheyky. When I heard of the late unhappy skirmish that happened in my country between some of your warriors and my people, I was surprised. I could not account for it to myself, why such a thing should happen between brethren. This belt of wampum, therefore, I give to the families in mourning amongst you, my brethren, at Sagogsaanagechtheyky, to condole with them and moderate their grief." The belt was given, and the usual sound of approbation was returned by the whole house. 2. Then I handed another belt to the speaker and spoke to him. He spoke much the same as before, and desired that belt might be given to the families in mourning at Niharuntaquoa, or the Oneidas, for the same use. Thanks were given again by the whole Assembly. Then I handed a large belt to the speaker. 3. "Brethren of the United Nations, the sun kept back its beams from us, and a dark cloud overshadowed us when the late unhappy skirmish happened between my people and your warriors. My people are charged with having begun hostilities. I will not dispute with you about it. It is most certain that an evil spirit, which governs in darkness, has been the promoter

of it, for brethren will never fall out without giving ear to such evil spirits. I and the old and wise people of my country highly disapproved the action. I, therefore, came here to your fire to fetch home the hatchet, from an apprehension that it might have been unadvisedly made use of by my people, and I assure you, by this belt of wampum, that there shall be no more use made of it for the future, but it shall be buried. In confirmatioa of what I say, I give you this belt of wampum." The solemn cry, by way of thanksgiving and joy, was repeated as many times as there were Nations present. The speaker then proceeded: 4. "Brethren, the United Nations, this string of wampum serves to bury all that unhappy accident under the ground, and to lay a heavy stone upon it to keep it under for ever." He laid down some strings of wampum. The usual cry was given. 5. "Brethren, the United Nations, these strings of wampum serve to dispel the dark cloud that overshadowed us for some time, that the sun may shine again and we may be able to see one another with pleasure." He laid down some strings of wampum. The usual cry, by way of approbation and thanks, were given. The speaker proceeded. 6. "Brethren, the United Nations, these strings of wampum serve to take away the bitterness of your spirit, and to purge you from the abundance and overflow of your gall. All wise people judge it to be a dangerous distemper. When men have too much of that, it gives an open door to evil spirits to enter in, and I cannot help believing that my brethren, the United Nations, are often sick of that distemper." He laid down four rows of wampum. The usual cry was given by way of approbation. The speaker proceeded.

7. "Brethren, the United Nations, this string of wampum serves to mend the chain of friendship again, which was lately hurt and was in danger of being broken. Let good understanding and true friendship be restored and subsist among us for ever." Laid four rows of wampum, the usual cry of approbation was given, and the speaker proceeded. 8. "Brethren, the United Nations, the old and wise people of my country joined with me, and we lodged a fine present in the hands of your brother Onas for your use, as a token of my own and my people's sincere disposition to preserve peace and friendship with you. We will send Commissioners to you next spring, to treat with you about the land now in dispute and in the possession of my people. Let the place and time be appointed for certain, that we may not miss one another." Laid some strings of wampum. The usual cry, by every Nation in particular, was given by way of thanksgiving and joy. The speaker concluded, and said: "Brethren, I have no more to say at present, but only desire you to give me a speedy answer. I have been here many days."

All the wampum were hung over a stick laid across the house, about six feet from the ground. Several kettles of hominy, boiled Indian corn and bread, were brought in by the women, the biggest of which was set before Assaryquoa by the divider. All dined together. There were about sixty people. After dinner they walked out, every Nation's deputy by themselves, and soon came in again and sat together for about two hours. Then Zilla Woolien proclaimed that Assaryquoa was to have an answer now immediately; upon which all the men in town gathered again, and the house was full, and

many stood out of door (so it was in the forenoon, when the message was delivered to them.) Zilla Woolien desired Assaryquoa to give ear. Tocanontie being appointed for their speaker, spoke to the following purpose:

1. "Brother Assaryquoa, the unhappy skirmish which happened last winter betwixt your people and some of our warriors, was not less surprising to us than to you. We were very sorry to hear it. All amongst us were surprised. A smoke arose from the bottomless pit, and a dark cloud overshadowed us. The chain of friendship was endangered and disappeared, and all was in a confusion. We, the Chiefs of the United Nations, took hold of the chain with all our strength. We were resolved not to let it slip before we received a deadly blow. But to our great satisfaction, in the darkest time, our brother Onas entered our door and offered his mediation. He judged very right to become mediator betwixt us. We were drunk, on both sides, and the overflow of our galls and the blood that was shed had corrupted our hearts, both your's and our's. You did very well to come to our fire and comfort the mourning families. We thank you. This belt shall serve for the same purpose to comfort the families in mourning amongst you." Laid a belt of wampum. After I thanked them, their speaker proceeded. 2. "Brother Assaryquoa, you have healed the wounds of the hearts of those families in mourning, both here and at Niharuntaquoa. We thank you kindly for your so doing. Let this belt of wampum have the same effect upon your people, to heal the wounds and comfort them, as your's had upon our's." Laid a belt of wampum, the usual

thanks were given, and the speaker proceeded. 3. "Brother Assaryquoa, you judged very right in saying that an evil spirit was the promoter of the late unhappy skirmish. We do not doubt but you have by this time full satisfaction from your own people, besides what you had from us, that your people had begun hostilities. But let have begun who will; we assure you it was the spirit that dwells amongst the Cawtabaws, and by which they are ruled, that did it, for brethren will never treat one another after this manner, without an evil spirit enters them. We agree with you and your Councilors, the old and wise people of your country, and disapprove the action highly. We thank you, brother Assaryquoa, for removing your hatchet, and for burying it under a heavy stone. Let this belt of wampum serve to remove our hatchet from you, and not only bury it, but we will fling it into the bottomless pit—into the ocean. There shall be no more use made of it. In confirmation of what we say, we give you this belt of wampum." After the usual approbation was given, the speaker proceeded. 4. "Brother Assaryquoa, let this string of wampum serve to heal the very mark of the wounds, so that nothing may be seen of it after this day, for it was done betwixt brethren. Let no more mention be made of it hereafter, for ever, in public or private." Laid down four strings of wampum. The usual cry, by way of approbation, was given, and the speaker proceeded. 5. "Brother Assaryquoa, this string of wampum serves to return you our thanks for dispelling the dark cloud that overshadowed us for some time. Let the sun shine again. Let us look upon one another with pleasure and joy." Laid some strings of wampum. The usual ap-

probation was given, and the speaker proceeded. 6. "Brother Assaryquoa, you have taken away the bitterness of our spirit, and purged us from the abundance and overflow of our gall. We judge, with all the rest of the white people, that when men have too much of that, it is like a dangerous distemper. But it is not only your brethren, the United Nations, that have too much gall, but the Europeans labor, likewise, under that distemper, in particular your back inhabitants. You did very well in taking away the overflow of gall. Let this string of wampum serve to purge your people also from the overflow of their gall, and to remove the bitterness of their spirit; also, we own it to be very necessary on both sides. We thank you for the good advice." Laid four rows of wampum. The usual approbation was given, and the speaker proceeded. 7. "Brother Assaryquoa, this string of wampum serves to thank you for mending the chain of friendship, which was lately hurt and in danger. We agree with you very readily. Let good understanding and true friendship be restored and subsist among us for ever." Laid four rows of wampum. The usual approbation was given, and the speaker proceeded. 8. "Brother Assaryquoa, we thank you kindly for the present you and the old and wise men of your country lodged in the hands of our brother Onas, your good friend, as a token of your sincere disposition to preserve peace and friendship with us. Let this string of wampum serve to assure you of the like good disposition towards you and your people, and as assurance that we will come down within the borders of Pennsylvania to a place called Canadagueany, next spring, and we will be very glad of seeing your

Commissioners there. We will treat them as becomes brethren, with good cheer and pleasure. We will set out from our several towns after eight moons are past by, when the ninth just is to be seen, this present moon, which is almost expired, not to be reckoned, upon which you may depend. In confirmation whereof, we give you this string of wampum." The usual approbation being given, the speaker proceeded. "Brother Assaryquoa, we have no more to say at present, but we will not permit you to leave us yet, but stay a day or two longer with us. We have just now received intelligence that the Jonontowas are on the road with some of the Cherokees' deputies, in order to strike a peace with us. They, the Cherokees, hindered the Jonontowas from coming sooner, and you will then hear the particulars." Then the speaker directed his discourse to the Nanticokes, who had been there all along present, and said: "Brethren, the Nanticokes, we desire you will prepare for to-morrow and deliver your message to us; and as you have neither the United Nations, their tongue nor ear, we have thought fit to hear you speak with our English ear, and to speak to you with our English tongue. There is the man (pointing to me) who is the guardian of all the Indians." I was desired to acquaint the Nanticokes with it, which I did, and they were well pleased. They could talk some English, but not one word of the United Nations' language. On the 1st of August the Nanticokes spoke, and had their answer the same day. The whole day was spent about it. On the 2d the Council of the United Nations met again, and Zilla Woolien desired me to give my attendance, and take notice of what should be said, to put it down in

writing immediately, and with particular care he spoke as follows: "Brother Onas, Assaryquoa and the Governor of Maryland: We are engaged in a war with the Cawtabaws, which will last to the end of the world, for they molest us and speak contemptuously to us, which our warriors will not bear, and they will soon go to war against them again. It will be in vain for us to dissuade them from it. We desire you, by this string of wampum, to publish it amongst your back inhabitants, to be of good behavior to our warriors, and look upon them as their brethren, that we may never have such a dangerous breach hereafter. We give you the strongest assurance that we will use our best endeavors to persuade and charge them to be of good behavior everywhere amongst our brethren, the English, with whom we are one body and soul, one heart and one head, for what has happened is no more to be seen, and no token or mark remains thereof. Let the spirit of the Cawtabaws be banished away from us, which will set brethren to fall out. Let Treaties of friendship be observed, and believe no lies. Our brother Onas knows very well that some years ago we made a new road on the outside of your inhabitants, though they had seated themselves down upon our land; now your people seated themselves down again upon the new road and shut it up, and there is no more room for a new road, because of the terrible mountains full of stones and no game there, so that the road cannot be removed. To enforce this upon you, we give you this string of wampum, which serves likewise for an assurance that we will observe Treaties of friendship with you and believe no lies, and will persuade our warriors to behave well everywhere amongst your people,

our brethren." Laid a string of wampum of three rows. They desired that this might be sent to Maryland and Virginia, immediately, from Philadelphia. "Brother Onas, this string of wampum serves to return you our hearty thanks for your kind mediation. We thank our brother Assaryquoa for the kind visit. Let good friendship and peace be amongst us to the end of the world." After all was over, according to the ancient custom of that fire, a song of friendship and joy was sung by the Chiefs. After this, the Council fire on their side was put out. I, with the same ceremony, put out the fire, in behalf of Assaryquoa and Onas, and they departed. On the 3d of August I put down, in the morning, the speech of the Nanticokes, and visited Tocammtie. All the Chiefs of the Onondagas came to see us—took my leave of them—set out about nine and departed from Onondago. They desired to be remembered to their brethren in Philadelphia, in particular to the Governor and James Logan. The time that we staid at Onondago we were well entertained with hominy, venison, dried eels, squashes and Indian corn bread. They gave us provisions on the road homeward, so much as we wanted. We passed Cajadachse—took my leave thereof. Zilla Woolien and I arrived that day on the first branch of the Susquehanna.

CONRAD WEISER.

NO. IV.

Report of His Third Journey to Shamokin.

Shamokin, May 2, 1744.

This day I delivered the Governor's message to Olumapies, the Delaware Chief, and the rest of the Delaware Indians, in the presence of Shekallamy and a few more of the Six Nations, the purport of which was that I was sent expressly by the Governor and Council to demand those that had been concerned with Mussemeelin in murdering John Armstrong, Woodward Arnold and James Smith—that their bodies might be searched for and decently buried; that the goods be likewise found and restored without fraud. It was delivered to them by me in the Mohawk language, and interpreted into Delaware by Andrew, Madam Montour's son.

In the afternoon, Olumapies, in the presence of the aforesaid Indians, made the following answer:

"Brother, the Governor:

"It is true that we, the Delaware Indians, by the instigation of the evil spirit, have murdered James Armstrong and his men. We have transgressed, and we are ashamed to look up. We have taken the murderer and delivered him to the relations of the deceased, to be dealt with according to his works.

"Brother, the Governor:

"Your demand for the goods is very just. We have gathered some of them. We will do the utmost of what we can to find them all. We do not doubt but we can find out the most part, and whatever is wanting we will make up in skins, which is what the goods are sent for to the woods.

"Brother, the Governor:

"The dead bodies are buried. It is certain that John Armstrong was buried by the murderer, and the other two by those that searched for them. Our hearts are in mourning, and we are in a dismal condition and cannot say anything at present."

Then Shekallamy, with the rest of the Indians of the Six Nations that were present, said: "Brother, the Governor—We have been all misinformed on both sides about the unhappy accident. Mussemeelin has certainly murdered the three white men himself, and upon his bare accusation of Neshaleeny's son, which was nothing but spite. The said Neshaleeny's son was seized and made a prisoner. Our cousins, the Delaware Indians, being then drunk, in particular Olumapies, never examined things, but made an innocent person prisoner, which gave a great deal of disturbance amongst us. However, the two prisoners were sent, and by the way in going down the river, they stopped at the house of James Berry. James told the young man, 'I am sorry to see you in such a condition. I have known you from a boy, and always loved you.' Then the young man seemed to be very much struck to the heart, and said, 'I have said nothing yet, but now I will tell all. Let all the Indians come in, and the white people also. They shall hear it.' And then told Mussemeelin, in the presence of all the people:

"'Now I am going to die for your wickedness. You have killed all the three white men. I never did intend to kill any of them' Then Mussemeelin, in anger, said, 'It is true I have killed them. I am a man; you are a coward. It is a great satisfaction to me to have

killed them. I will die with joy for having killed a great rogue and his companions.' Upon which the young man was set at liberty by the Indians. We desire, therefore, our brother, the Governor, will not insist to have either of the two young men in prison or condemned to die. It is not with Indians as with white people, to put people in prison on suspicion or for trifles. Indians must be first found guilty of a crime, then judgment is given and immediately executed. We will give you faithfully all the particulars, and at the ensuing Treaty entirely satisfy you. In the meantime we desire that good friendship and harmony may continue, and that we may live long together is the hearty desire of your brethren, the Indians of the United Six Nations, present at Shamokin."

The following is what Shekallamy declared to be the truth of the story concerning the murder of John Armstrong, Woodward Arnold and James Smith, from the beginning to the end, to wit:

"That Mussemeelin owing some skins to John Armstrong, the said Armstrong seized a horse of the said Mussemeelin, and a rifled gun. The gun was taken by James Smith, deceased. Sometime last winter Mussemeelin met Armstrong on the river Juniata, and paid to about twenty shillings, for which he offered a neck-belt in pawn to Armstrong, and demanded his horse, and John Armstrong refused it and would not deliver up the horse, but enlarged the debt, as his usual custom was; and after some quarrel, the Indian went away in great anger, without his horse, to his hunting cabin. Sometime after this, Armstrong, with his two companions on their way to Ohio, passed by the said Musse-

meelin's hunting cabin. His wife only being at home, demanded the horse of Armstrong, because he was her proper goods, but did not get him (Armstrong had by this time sold or lended the horse to James Berry.) After Mussemeelin came from hunting, his wife told him that Armstrong was gone by, and that she had demanded the horse of him, but did not get him (and, as is thought, pressed him to pursue and take revenge of Armstrong.) The third day, in the morning, after John Armstrong was gone by, Mussemeelin said to the two young men that hunted with him, 'Come, let us go towards the great hills, to hunt bears.' Accordingly they went, all three, in company. After they had gone a good way, Mussemeelin, who was foremost, was told by the two young men that they were out of their course. 'Come you along,' said Mussemeelin, and they accordingly followed him till they came to the path that leads to Ohio. Then Mussemeelin told them, he had a good mind to go and fetch his horse back from Armstrong, and desired the two young men to come along. Accordingly they went along. It was then almost night, and they traveled till next morning. Mussemeelin said, 'Now they are not far off. We will make ourselves black. Then they will be frightened and deliver up the horse immediately, and I will tell Jack, that if he don't give me the horse, I will kill him,' and when he said so, he laughed. The young men thought he joked, as he used to do. They did not blacken themselves, but he did. When the sun was above the trees (or about an hour high), they all came to the fire, where they found James Smith sitting, and they also sat down. Mussemeelin asked where Jack was. Smith told him

that he was gone to clear the road a little. Mussemeelin said he wanted to speak with him, and went that way, and after he had gone a little distance from the fire, he said something and looked back, laughing; but he having a thick throat and his speech being very bad, and their talking with Smith hindered them from understanding what he said, they did not mind it. They being hungry, Smith told them to kill some turtles, of which there were plenty, and we would make some bread, and by and by they would all eat together. While they were talking, they heard a gun go off not far away, at which time Woodward Arnold was killed, as they learned afterwards. Soon thereafter Mussemeelin came back and said, 'Why did you two not kill that white man, according as I bid you? I have laid the other two down.' At this they were surprised, and one of the young men, commonly called Jemmey, ran away to the river-side. Mussemeelin said to the other, 'How will you do to kill Cawtabaws, if you cannot kill white men? You coward, I'll show you how you must do.' And, then, taking up the English ax that lay there, he struck it three times into Smith's head before he died. Smith never stirred. Then he told the young Indian to call the other, but he was so terrified that he could not call. Mussemeelin then went and fetched him, and said to him that two of the white men were killed; he must go and kill the third, then each of them would have killed one. But neither of them dare venture to talk anything about it. Then he pressed them to go along with him. He went foremost. Then one of the young men told the other, as they went along, 'My friend, don't kill any of the white people. Let him do what he

will. I have not killed Smith. He has done it himself. We have no need to do such a barbarous thing.' Mussemeelin being then a good way before them, in a hurry, they soon saw John Armstrong setting upon an old log. Mussemeelin spoke to him and said, 'Where is my horse?' Armstrong made answer and said, 'He will come by and by; you shall have him.' 'I want him now,' said Mussemeelin. Armstrong answered, 'You shall have him. Come, let us go to that fire (which was at some distance from the place where Armstrong sat), and let us smoke and talk together.' 'Go along, then,' said Mussemeelin. 'I am coming,' said Armstrong; 'do you go before Mussemeelin; do you go foremost.' Armstrong looked then like a dead man, and went towards the fire, and was immediately shot in his back by Mussemeelin, and fell. Mussemeelin then took his hatchet and struck it into Armstrong's head, and said, 'Give me my horse, I tell you.' By this time one of the young men had fled again that had gone away before, but he returned in a short time. Mussemeelin then told the young men they must not offer to discover or tell a word about what had been done for their lives, but they must help him to bury Jack, and the other two were to be thrown into the river. After that was done, Mussemeelin ordered them to load the horses and follow him towards the hill, where they intended to hide the goods. Accordingly they did, and as they were going, Mussemeelin told them that as there were a great many Indians hunting about that place, if they should happen to meet with any, they must be killed, to prevent their betraying them. As they went along, Mussemeelin going before, the two young men agreed to run away as

soon as they could meet with any Indians, and not to hurt anybody. They came to the desired place, the horses were unloaded, and Mussemeelin opened the bundles and offered the two young men each a parcel of goods. They told him that, as they had already sold their skins, and everybody knew they had nothing, they would certainly be charged with a black action, were they to bring any goods to the town, and therefore they would not accept any; but promised, nevertheless, not to betray him. 'Now,' says Mussemeelin, 'I know what you were talking about when you stayed so far behind; you have agreed to betray me, but you shall fare like the white men, if you intend to hurt me. The two young men being in great danger of losing their own lives (of which they had been much afraid all that day,) accepted what he offered them, and the rest of the goods they put in a heap and covered them from the rain, and then went to their hunting cabin; Mussemeelin unexpectedly finding two or three more Indians there, laid down his goods and said he had killed Jack Armstrong, and taken pay for his horse, and should any of them discover it, that person he would likewise kill; but otherwise they might all take a part of the goods. The young man called Jimmey went away to Shamokin, after Mussemeelin was gone to bury the goods, with three more Indians with whom he had prevailed; one of them was Neshaleeny's son, whom he had ordered to kill James Smith, but those Indians would not have any of the goods. Some time after the young Indian had been in Shamokin, it was whispered about that some of the Delaware Indians had killed Armstrong and his men. A drunken Indian came to one of the Tudolous houses at night, and told

the man of the house that he could tell him a piece of bad news. 'What is that?' said the other. The drunken man said, 'Some of our Delaware Indians have killed Armstrong and his men, which, if our Chiefs should not resent and take them up, I will kill them myself to prevent a disturbance between us and the white people, our brethren.' Next morning Shekallamy and some other Indians of the Delawares were called to assist Olumapies in Council. Then Shekallamy and Olumapies got one of the Tridolow Indians to write a letter to me, to desire me to come to Shamokin in all haste, that the Indians were much dissatisfied in mind. This letter was brought to my house by four Delaware Indians, sent express, but I was then in Philadelphia, and when I came home and found no particulars mentioned in the letter, and that none of the Six Nations had been down, I did not care to meddle with Delaware Indian affairs, and stayed at home till I received the Governor's orders to go, which was about two weeks after. Olumapies was advised by his Council to employ a conjurer (or ker, as they call it) to find out the murderer; accordingly he did, and the Indians met; the seer being busy all night, told them in the morning to examine such and such a one; they were present when Armstrong was killed, naming the two young men (Mussemeelin was then present); accordingly, Olumapies, Quitheyyquent, and Thomas Greene, an Indian, went to him that fled first and examined him; he told the whole story very freely; then they went to the other, but he would not say a word, and went away and left them. The three Indians returned to Shekallamy and informed him of what discovery they had made, when it was agreed to secure the murderers, and deliver

them up to the white people. Then a great noise arose among the Delaware Indians, and some were afraid of their lives and went into the woods. Not one cared to meddle with Mussemeelin and the other that could not be prevailed on to discover anything, because of the resentment of their families; but they being pressed by Shekallamy's sons to secure the murderers, otherwise they would be cut off from the chain of friendship, four or five of the Delawares made Mussemeelin and the other young man prisoners and tied them both. They lay twenty-four hours, and none of them would venture to conduct them down, because of the great division among the Delaware Indians; and Olumapies, in danger of being killed, fled to Shekallamy and begged his protection. At last Shekallamy's son, Jack, went to the Delawares, most of them being drunk, as they had been for several days, and told them to deliver the prisoners to Alexander Armstrong, and if they were afraid to do it, they might separate their heads from their bodies and lay them in the canoe, and carry them to Alexander, to roast and eat them. That would satisfy his revenge, as he wants to eat Indians. They prevailed with the said Jack to assist them, and accordingly he and his brother and some of the Delawares went with two canoes and carried them off."

CONRAD WEISER.

NO. V.

Extract of His Journey to Onondago.

On the 19th of May, 1745, I set out for Onondago, in company with Shekallamy, one of the Indian Chiefs, his son, and Andrew Montour, and we arrived safely at Onondago on the 6th of June following. On the 7th, early in the morning, Canassatego, Caheshearowano, the black Prince, and Caxhayion, came to receive me and my company. The best part of the day was spent with discourses concerning news. I understood that the messenger I sent from Diadagdon on the 29th of last month arrived three days before me, and that the Council of the Six Nations was sent for immediately after his arrival. The Senecas and Cayugas were sent for to Oswego, where it was said the Chiefs of the said Nations were. The aforesaid Chiefs told me that last fall the French Governor of Canada had sent to Onondago to invite all or a great number of the Six Nations to come and see him, and that a great number of them were determined to go, and some were already at Oswego, where they intended to meet, in order to proceed to Canada, and that the Onondagas were to go in great numbers, and would have set out the day before, had not the messenger I sent arrived.

I asked how their brethren, the Governor of New York and the Commissioners of Albany, approved of their going to Canada. They said, the Governor of New York and the Commissioners of Albany had sent to them, last winter, to desire them to stay at home; but, as they had hitherto a good correspondence both with the French and English, they thought to continue it,

and would, on their return, give a faithful account of all the transactions that passed between them and the French to their brethren, the English, and added, that their brethren, the English, had just reason to suspect and disapprove of their going, on account of the war between the English and French, and that the French were known to be a crafty people. "But," said they, "we know very well that the French Governor of Canada will try to gain upon us, but it will be in vain for him, as we have already agreed what to say to him, and will not go from it." On the 8th I visited Canassatego and Caheshcarowano, and held a private conference with them. I read and interpreted my instructions and had their advice, and they promised their good offices to assist me. The Deputies of the Oneidas and Tuscaroras arrived, as did likewise the Cayugas and one of the Chiefs of the Senecas. The Chiefs came to let me know that they expected to hear what I had to say next morning in behalf of their brethren. On the 9th I delivered my message in form following: "Brethren, the Six United Nations now met at your Council fire at Onondago—I am sent to you by the Governor of Pennsylvania, your brother, with a message that concerns your brother, the Governor of Virginia, and it is at his request that I am now come to this, your Council fire." Here I laid down a string of wampum, and continued. "Brethren, according to the promise your brother Assaryquoa made to you at the last Treaty held at Lancaster between you and your brethren Tocarryhoagon, Assaryquoa and Onas, he sent a message to the Cawtabaws, to invite them to a Treaty with you, the Six United Nations of Indians, and to advice them to send

Deputies to you, the said Nations. The Cawtabaws received the message very kindly, and thanked your brother Assaryquoa for his care and assistance, and made answer in the following manner (here I took the Cawtabaws' letter to the Governor of Virginia and explained it to the Council, but named Williamsburg as the place where the Cawtabaws desired to treat with the Six Nations, instead of their own towns and country, for that would have caused suspicion): After your brother Assaryquoa received this letter, he wrote a letter to your brother Onas and enclosed the Cawtabaws' letter, and desired that he would assist him in this weighty affair, and take the matter wholly into his own hands. To which your brother Onas, out of a tender and brotherly affection for his brethren, the Six United Nations, gave his consent; at the same time considering that a peace with the Cawtabaws would in a great measure be conducive to the preservation of his brethren, the Six United Nations. In confirmation of what has been said, I give you this belt of wampum, and you may depend upon the truth of the narrative. Brethren, the Governor of Pennsylvania now, jointly with the Governor of Virginia, advises you in the most friendly manner to hold a Congress with the Cawtabaws, they being also children of the great King over the waters, and consequently brethren of the English, and desire to live in peace and brotherly love with you. It will be both to the honor and interest of the Six Nations to make a firm and lasting peace with the Cawtabaws. To enforce this, so just a request, upon you, and to make the deepest impression into your minds, your brethren Onas and Assaryquoa present you with this belt of wampum."

Here I laid down a large belt. After the usual cry of Jo-haa, which is always given distinctly by every Nation after the receipt of a belt, I took up a third belt of wampum and said, "Brethren, by this belt of wampum the Governor of Pennsylvania, jointly with the Governor of Virginia, your brethren, invite you to a Congress with the Cawtabaws, in the town of Williamsburg, where you will be very kindly entertained, and the Cawtabaws will be there also. They are desired to send five Deputies, and no more, and the like number will be expected from you. Brethren, it is well known among your brethren Onas and Assaryquoa that you are suspicious and mistrustful of the sincerity of the Cawtabaws (and no doubt but you have some reason for it), but do you receive the invitation from your brethren Onas and Assaryquoa, who will see justice done to you.

"If the Cawtabaws send no Deputies to Williamsburg, they will be looked upon as a faithless and discontented people, and given up to your warriors, to be punished according to their deserts, and the Deputies you send will be rewarded for their fatigue and so long a journey, whether the Cawtabaws send any Deputies or not." Here I laid down the belt of wampum which I had in my hand, and which was received with the usual sound of Jo-haa by the Council, and with shouts of joy by the younger. I told them I had no more to say concerning this affair.

After a few minutes' silence, Tocanontie (otherwise called the black Prince) repeated the whole speech over, to know whether everything was rightly understood. I made him sensible of one thing, which he had omitted, and told him that the rest was right—then the Council

asked what I had further to say; I then proceeded. "Brethren, the Six United Nations now met at your Council fire in Onondago—I desire you will hear what I have in charge from your brother, the Governor of Pennsylvania. You can easily remember that at the time of the last Treaty held in Lansaster we had the French King's proclamation of war against the English, and you were then asked by your brother, the Governor of Pennsylvania, in the presence of your brethren, the Governors of Virginia and Maryland, and in the presense of a multitude of people, what your brethren, the English, might expect from you in this war. To which you made answer, in the presence of the same company, in manner following, that you would not suffer either party to march any troops over nor to commit hostilities upon your lands. At the same time our traders that used to trade to Ohio were present, and having placed a great deal of confidence in what you had said, went immediately to trade again to Ohio, thinking themselves secure from being molested either by the French or Indians; but they have since found themselves mistaken, having been robbed and taken prisoners by a large party of French and Indians, with Peter Chartier at their head. (Here I explained the narrative of the deponents to them, and told them that the Governor of Pennsylvania could do nothing more at present in the affair than to acquaint them with it and hear their answer, which I desired they would give after they had weighed the matter well, and added): The Shawnese are in your power, and so is Peter Chartier, who is turned from a subject of the King of Great Britain a rebel against him. You will therefore see your brother, the Governor of Pennsylvania,

justice done against that rebel, Peter Chartier, and compel the Shawnese to make restitution of the goods and prisoners taken by them. To enforce this upon you, I am ordered by the Governor of Pennsylvania to lay this belt of wampum before his brethren, the Council of the Six Nations." The belt was received with the usual sound of Jo-haa, and a clamor against the Shawnese. After the black Prince had repeated what I had said, and heard my approbation, the Council was rejoiced, and made a feast in honor of Onas and Assaryquoa. On the 10th, the Council sat all that afternoon till midnight, and next morning again till about ten o'clock, and then they came to the Council house (the house where I lodged) and acquainted me that they were ready to give an answer, which, accordingly, they did in the following manner: "Brethren Onas and Assaryquoa—We are very glad to hear from you, and take your message very kindly. Your request is of very great importance, and which concerns our allies as well as us, and the Deputies now met at this Council fire cannot take upon them to give a positive answer to it. The warriors must be consulted about it, and all the Chiefs of the Six United Nations, together with the Captains of war, must meet and consult together before a firm and lasting peace can be made with the Cawtabaws; and as a great many of our people, with several of our Chiefs, are now going to Canada, at the invitation of the French Governor sent to us last fall, we must therefore defer the whole affair till their return, and a Council, as before, will then be called, and your belts of wampum laid before them; we must, therefore, keep your belts of wampum in our hands till then, and as soon as the Council is over, we

will immediately send to you and let you know what the result of the Council will be, and at what time in the next spring our Deputies can come down. In the meantime we will keep our warriors at home and not suffer them to go to war against the Cawtabaws till we have heard what resolutions they will come to, and a Congress be held with them, whom we expect to see at our Council fire in Philadelphia. Williamsburg, where our brother Assaryquoa lives, is too far off, and no Council fire is yet kindled there, neither is there any road cleared to that place, and for us to go there the first time, to meet the Cawtabaws, would be dishonorable to us. Brethren Onas and Assaryquoa, we desire that you will not take it amiss that we don't come down this summer. If you consider the importance of the affair and our present circumstances, you will find that we cannot come any sooner. We have no more to say on this affair." After a few minutes' silence, the speaker Tocanontie (or the black Prince) began again: "Brother Onas—We are sorry to hear what has happened to your traders in Ohio by that treacherous man, Peter Chartier, through the influence of the French. We go now to Canada and shall take your belt of wampum with us. We look upon what has happened to your traders as an open breach of the peace on the side of the French against us, and the blow that is given, as if it were given to our head. Depend upon it, that the French shall make restitution of men and goods, if it be their doings, otherwise the Shawnese shall. We are very glad that this news has reached our Council fire before we set out for Canada. After our return you will have a full answer to this affair, and no doubt but a satisfactory one. We

have no more to say." After the Council was over, the black Prince invited all the Deputies and the Chiefs of Onondago, myself and company to a dinner. We all went directly to his house. He entertained us plentifully with hominy, dried venison, and fish, and after dinner we were served with a dram around. Whilst we were at dinner, they had several discourses among themselves about the Shawnese, against whom they seemed to be very much exasperated, and some said their behavior was a challenge to war, and that there would be war proclaimed against them. They wondered why Onas did not immediately proclaim war against the Shawnese and send for assistance. Others answered, Onas acted very prudently in letting the United Nations first know what had happened, and that it was according to the late Treaty held last year. They seemed to expect nothing less than war with the Shawnese and a peace with the Cawtabaws.

CONRAD WEISER.

NO. VI.

Report of His Journey to Ohio.

August 11, 1748. Set out from my house and came to James Galbreath's that day, 30 miles.

12th. Came to George Croghan's, 15 miles.

13th. To Robert Dunnings, 20 miles.

14th. To the Tuscaroro Path, 30 miles.

15th and 16th. Lay by on account of the men coming back sick, and some other affairs hindering us.

17th. Crossed the Tuscaroro Hill and came to the sleeping place called the Black Log, 20 miles.

18th. Had a great rain in the afternoon. Came within two miles of the Standing Stone, 24 miles.

19th. We traveled but 12 miles. Were obliged to dry our things in the afternoon.

20th. Came to Frankstown, but saw no houses or cabins. Here we overtook the goods, because four of George Croghan's hands fell sick; 26 miles.

21st. Lay by, it raining all day.

22d. Crossed Allegheny Hill and came to the clear fields, 16 miles.

23d. Came to the Shawnese cabins, 34 miles.

24th. Found a dead man on the road, who had killed himself by drinking too much whisky. The place being very stony, we could not dig a grave. He smelling very strong, we covered him with stones and wood, and went on our journey. Came to the 10 Mile Lick, 32 miles.

25th. Crossed Kiskeminetues Creek and came to Ohio that day, 26 miles.

26th. Hired a canoe. Paid 1,000 black wampum

for the loan of it to Logstown. Our horses being all tired, we went by water and came that night to a Delaware town. The Indians used us very kindly.

27th. Set off again in the morning, early. Rainy weather. We dined in a Seneca town, where an old Seneca woman reigns with great authority. We dined at her house, and they all used us very well. At this and the last mentioned Delaware town they received us by firing a great many guns—especially at this last place. We saluted the town by firing off four pairs of pistols. Arrived that evening at Logstown and saluted the town as before. The Indians returned about one hundred guns. Great joy appeared in their countenances. From the place where we took water, i. e. from the old Shawnese town, commonly called Chartier's town, to this place is about 60 miles by water and but 35 or 40 by land.

The Indian Council met this evening, to shake hands with me and to show their satisfaction at my safe arrival. I desired of them to send a couple of canoes to fetch down the goods from Chartier's old town, where we had been obliged to leave them on account of our horses being all tired. I gave them a string of wampum, to enforce my request.

28th. Lay still.

29th. The Indians set off in three canoes to fetch the goods. I expected the goods would be all at Chartier's old town by the time the canoes would get there, as we met about twenty horses of George Croghan's at the Shawnese cabins, in order to fetch the goods that was then lying at Frankstown.

This day news came to town that the Six Nations

were on the point of declaring war against the French, for reason the French had imprisoned some of the Indian Deputies. A Council was held and all the Indians acquainted with the news, and it was said the Indian messenger was on the way to give all the Indians notice to make ready to fight the French. This day my companions went to Coscosky, a large Indian town about 30 miles off.

30th. I went to Beaver Creek, an Indian town about 8 miles off, chiefly Delawares, the rest Mohawks, to have some belts of wampum made. This afternoon rainy weather set in, which lasted above a week. Andrew Montour came back from Coscosky with a message from the Indians there to desire of me that the ensuing Council might be held at their town. We both lodged at this town at George Croghan's trading house.

31st. Sent Andrew Montour back to Coscosky with a string of wampum, to let the Indians there know that it was an act of their own that the ensuing Council must be held at Logstown. They had ordered it so last spring, when George Croghan was up, and at the last Treaty in Lancaster the Shawnese and Twightwees have been told so, and they staid accordingly for that purpose, and both would be offended if the Council was to be held at Coscosky; besides, my instructions bind me to Logstown, and could go no further without giving offence.

Sept. 1st. The Indians in Logstown having heard of the message from Coscosky, sent for me, to know what I was resolved to do, and told me that the Indians at Coscosky were no more Chiefs than themselves, and that last spring they had nothing to eat, and expecting

that they should have nothing to eat at our arrival. Ordered that the Council should be held here. Now their corn is ripe. They want to remove the Council, but they ought to stand by their word. We have kept the Twightwees here and our brethren, the Shawnese, from below on that account, as I told them the message that I had sent by Andrew Montour. They were content.

2. Rain continued. The Indians brought in a good deal of venison.

3d. Set up the union flag on a long pole. Treated all the company with a dram of rum. The King's health was drank by Indians and white men. Towards night a great many Indians arrived to attend the Council. There was great firing on both sides. The strangers first saluted the town at a quarter of a mile distance, and at their entry the town's people returned the fire, also the English traders, of whom there were above twenty. At night, being very sick of the cholic, I got bled.

4th. Was obliged to keep my bed all day, being very weak.

5th. I found myself better. Scaiohady came to see me. Had some discourse with him about the ensuing Council.

6th. Had a Council with the Wondats, otherwise called Ionontady Hagas. They made a fine speech to me, to make me welcome, and appeared in the whole very friendly. Rainy weather continued.

7th. Being informed that the Wondats had a mind to go back again to the French, and had endeavored to take the Delawares with them to recommend them to the French, I sent Andrew Montour to Beaver Creek

with a string of wampum, to inform himself of the truth of the matter. They sent a string in answer, to let me know they had no correspondence that way with the Wondats, and that the aforesaid report was false.

8th. Had a Council with the Chiefs of the Wondats; inquired their number, and what occasioned them to come away from the French; what correspondence they had with the Six Nations, and whether or not they had ever had any correspondence with the Government of New York. They informed me, their coming away from the French was because of the hard usage they received from them; that they would always get their young men to go to war against their enemies, and would use them as their own people, that is, like slaves, and their goods were so dear that they, the Indians, could not buy them; that there were one hundred fighting men that came over to join the English—seventy were left behind at another town a good distance off, and they hoped they would follow them; that they had a very good correspondence with the Six Nations many years, and were one people with them; that they could wish the Six Nations would act more briskly against the French; that above fifty years ago they made a Treaty of friendship with the Governor of New York at Albany, and showed me a large belt of wampum they received there from the said Governor as from the King of Great Britain. The belt was 25 grains wide and 265 long, very curiously wrought. There were seven images of men holding one another by the hand—the first signifying the Governor of New York (or rather, as they said, the King of Great Britain), the second the Mohawks, the third the Oneidas, the fourth the Cayugas,

the fifth the Onondagas, the sixth the Senecas, the seventh the Owendaets, and two rows of black wampum under their feet through the whole length of the belt, to signify the road from Albany through the Five Nations to the Owendaets; that six years ago they had sent Deputies with the same belt to Albany, to renew the friendship.

I treated them with a quart of whisky and a roll of tobacco. They expressed their good wishes to King George and all his people, and were mightily pleased that I looked upon them as brethren of the English.

This day I desired the Deputies of all the Nations of Indians settled on the waters of Ohio, to give me a list of their fighting men, which they promised to do. A great many of the Indians went away this day, because the goods did not come, and the people in the town could not find provisions enough, the number being so great.

The following is the number of every Nation, given to me by their several Deputies in Council, in so many sticks tied up in a bundle:

The Senecas, 163; Shawnese, 162; Owendaets, 100; Tisagechroanu, 40; Mohawks, 74; Mohickons, 15; Onondagas, 35; Cayugas, 20; Oneidas, 15; Delawares, 165—in all, 789.

9th. I had a Council with the Senecas, and gave them a large string of wampum, black and white, to acquaint them I had it in charge from the President and Council in Philadelphia, to inquire who it was that lately took the people prisoners in Carolina, one thereof being a great man, and that by what discovery I had already made, I found it was some of the Senecas that did

it. I therefore desired them to give me their reasons for doing so, and as they had struck their hatchet into their brethren's body, they could not expect that I could deliver my message with a good heart before they gave me satisfaction in that respect, for they must consider the English, though living in several Provinces, are all one people, and doing mischief to one is doing to the other. Let me have a plain and direct answer.

10th. A great many of the Indians got drunk. One Henry Noland had brought nearly thirty gallons of whisky to the town. This day I made a present to the old Shawnese Chief, Catchawatcheky, of a stroud, a blanket, a match-coat, a shirt, a pair of stockings, and a large twist of tobacco, and told him that the President and Council of Philadelphia remembered their love to him as to their old and true friend, and would clothe his body once more, and wished he might wear them out, so as to give them an opportunity to clothe him again. There were a great many Indians present, two of whom were the big Hominy and the Pride, those that went off with Chartier, but protested against his proceedings against our traders. Catchawatcheky returned thanks, and some of the Six Nations did the same, and expressed their satisfaction to see a true man taken notice of, although he was now grown childish.

11th. George Croghan and myself staved an eight gallon keg of liquor belonging to the aforesaid Henry Noland, who could not be prevailed on to hide it in the woods, but would sell it and get drunk himself.

I desired some of the Indians in Council to send some of their young men to meet our people with the goods, and not to come back before they heard of or saw

them. I began to be afraid they had fallen into the hands of the enemy. So did the Indians.

Ten warriors came to town by water from Niagara. We suspected them very much, and feared that some of their parties went to meet our people by hearing of them.

12th. Two Indians and a white man went out to meet our people, and had orders not to come back before they saw them, or go to Frankstown, where we left the goods. The same day the Indians made answer to my request concerning the prisoners taken in Carolina. Thanayieson, a speaker of the Senecas, spoke to the following purpose in the presence of all the Deputies of the other Nations (we were out of doors): "Brethren, you came a great way to visit us, and many sorts of evils might have befallen you on the way, which might have been hurtful to your eyes and your inward parts, for the woods are full of evil spirits. We give you this string of wampum to clear up your eyes and minds, and to remove all bitterness of your spirit, that you may hear us speak in good cheer." Then the speaker took his belt in his hand, and said: "Brethren, when we and you first saw one another at your first arrival at Albany, we shook hands together and became brethren, and we tied your ship to the bushes, and after we had more acquaintance with you, we loved you more and more, and perceiving that a bush would not hold your vessel, we then tied her to a large tree, and ever after good friendship continued between us. Afterwards, you, our brethren, told us that a tree might happen to fall down and the rope rot wherewith the ship was tied. You then proposed to make a silver chain and tie your ship

to the great mountains in the Five Nations' country, and that chain was called the chain of friendship. We were all tied by our arms together with it, and we, the Indians of the Five Nations, heartily agreed to it, and ever since a very good correspondence has been kept between us. But we are very sorry that at your coming here we are obliged to talk of the accident that lately befell you in Carolina, where some of our warriors, by the instigation of the evil spirit, struck their hatchet into our own body alike, and what was done we utterly abhor as a thing done by the evil spirit himself. We never expected any of our people would ever do so to our brethren. We, therefore, remove our hatchet, which, by the influence of the evil spirit, was struck into your body, and we desire that our brethren, the Governor of New York and Onas, may use their utmost endeavors that the thing may be buried in the bottomless pit, that it may never be seen again—that the chain of friendship, which is of so long standing, may be preserved, bright and unhurt." Gave a belt. The speaker then took up a string of wampum, mostly black, and said: "Brethren, as we have removed our hatchet out of your body, or, properly speaking, out of our own, we now desire that the air may be cleared up again and the wound made may be healed, and everything put in good understanding, as it was before, and we desire you will assist us to make up everything with the Governor of Carolina. The man that has been brought as a prisoner, we now deliver up to you; he is yours (laid down the string, and took the prisoner by the hand and delivered him to me.)" By way of discourse the speaker said: "The Six Nation warriors often meet Englishmen trad-

ing to the Cawtabaws, and often found that the Englishmen betrayed them to their enemy, and some of the English traders had been spoken to by the Indian speaker last year in the Cherokees' country and were told not to do so; that the speaker and many others of the Six Nations had been afraid a long time that such a thing would be done by some of their warriors at one time or other."

13th. Had a Council with the Senecas and Onondagas about the Wondats, to receive them into our union. I gave a large belt of wampum, and the Indians gave two, and everything was agreed upon about what should be said to the Wondats. The same evening a full Council was appointed and met accordingly, and a speech was made to the Wondats by Asserhartur, a Seneca, as follows:

"Brethren, the Ionontady Hagas—Last spring you sent this belt of wampum to us (having the belt then in his hand), to desire us and our brethren, the Shawnese, and our cousins, the Delawares, to come and meet you in your retreat from the French, and we accordingly came to your assistance and brought you here and received you as our own flesh. We desire you will think you now join us, and our brethren, the English, and you to become one people with us." Then he laid that belt by and gave them a very large string of wampum.

The speaker took up the belt I gave, and said:

"Brethren—The English, our brothers, bid you welcome and are glad you escaped out of captivity alike. You have been kept as slaves by Onontio, notwithstanding he called you all along his children; but now you have broken the rope wherewith you have been tied, and be-

come freemen, and we, the United Six Nations, receive you to our Council fire, and make you members thereof, and we will secure your dwelling place to you against all manner of danger." Gave the belt.

"Brethren—We, the Six United Nations, and all our Indian allies, with our brethren, the English, look upon you as our children, though you are our brethren. We desire you will give no ear to the evil spirit that spreads lies and wickedness. Let your mind be easy and clear, and be of the same mind with us, whatever you may hear. Nothing shall befall you but what of necessity must befall us at the same time.

"Brethren—We are extremely pleased to see you here, as it happened just at the same time when our brother Onas is with us. We jointly, by this belt of wampum, embrace you about your middle, and desire you to be strong in your minds and hearts. Let nothing alter your minds, but live and die with us." Gave a belt. The Council broke up.

14th. A full Council was summoned and everything repeated by me to all the Indians of what passed in Lancaster at the last Treaty with the Twightwees.

The news was confirmed by a belt of wampum from the Six Nations, that the French had imprisoned some of the Six Nations' Deputies, and 30 of the Wondats, including women and children. The Indians that were sent to meet our people with the goods, came back and did not see anything of them, but they had been no further than the old Shawnese town.

15th. I left the Indians know that I would deliver my message to-morrow, and the goods I had, and that they must send Deputies with me on my returning

homewards, and wherever we should meet the rest of goods, I would send them to them, if they were not taken by the enemy, to which they agreed.

The same day the Delawares made a speech to me and presented a beaver coat and a string of wampum, and said: "We let the President and Council of Philadelphia know that after the death of our chief man, Olumapies, our grand-children, the Shawnese, came to our own town to condole with us over the loss of our good King, your brother, and they wiped off our tears and comforted our minds, and as the Delawares are the same people with the Pennsylvanians, and born in one and the same country, we give some of the presents our grand-children gave us to the President and Council of Philadelphia, because the death of their good friend and brother must have affected them as well as us."

Gave the beaver coat and a string of wampum.

The same day the Wondats sent for me and Andrew, and presented us with seven beaver skins of about ten pounds' weight, and said they gave us that to buy some refreshments for us after our arrival in Pennsylvania, wished we might get home safe, and lifted up their hands and said they would pray God to protect us and guide us the way home. I desired to know their names. They behaved like people of good sense and sincerity. The most of them were gray-headed. Their names are as follows:

Totorhihiades,	Wanduny,
Taganayesy,	Taruchiorus,
Sonachqua,	their speaker.

The Chiefs of the Delawares that made the above speech are Shawanasson and Achamanatainu.

16th. I made answer to the Delawares, and said:

"Brethren, the Delawares:

"It is true what you said, that the people of Pennsylvania are your brethren and countrymen. We are well pleased of what your children, the Shawnese, did to you. This is the first time we had public notice given us of the death of our good friend and brother Olumapies. I take this opportunity to remove the remainder of your troubles from your hearts, to enable you to attend in Council at the ensuing Treaty, and I assure you that the President and Council of Pennsylvania condoles with you over the loss of your King, our good friend and brother."

Gave them five strouds.

The two aforesaid Chiefs gave a string of wampum, and desired me to let their brethren, the President and Council, know they intended a journey next spring to Philadelphia to consult with their brethren over some affairs of moment, since they are now like orphan children. They hoped their brethren would let them have their good advice and assistance, as the people of Pennsylvania and the Delawares were like one family.

The same day the rest of the goods arrived. The men said they had nine days rain and the creeks rose, and that they had been obliged to send a sick man back from Frankstown to the inhabitants, with another to attend him.

The neighboring Indians being sent for again, the Council was appointed to meet to-morrow. It rained again.

17th. It rained very hard, but in the afternoon it held up for about three hours. The Deputies of the

several Nations met in Council, and I delivered them what I had to say from the President and Council of Pennsylvania by Andrew Montour:

"Brethren, you that live on the Ohio:

"I am sent to you by the President and Council of Pennsylvania, and am now going to speak to you in their behalf. I desire you will take notice and hear what I shall say."

Gave a string of wampum.

"Brethren:

"Some of you have been in Philadelphia last fall and acquainted us that you had taken up the English hatchet, and that you had already made use of it against the French, and that the French had very hard heads, and your country afforded nothing but sticks and hickories, which was not sufficient to break them. You desired your brethren would assist you with some weapons sufficient to do it. Your brethren, the President and Council, promised you then, to send something to you next spring by Tarachawagon, but as some other affairs prevented his journey to Ohio, you received a supply by George Croghan, sent you by your said brethren. But, before George Croghan came back from Ohio, news came from over the great Lake that the King of Great Britain and the French King had agreed upon a cessation of arms for six months, and that a peace was very likely to follow. Your brethren, the President and Council, were then in a manner at a loss what to do. It did not become them to act contrary to the command of the King, and it was out of their power to encourage you in the war against the French; but as your brethren never missed fulfilling their promises, they have, upon second

consideration, thought proper to turn the intended supply into a civil and brotherly present, and have accordingly sent me with it, and here are the goods before your eyes, which I have, by your brother's order, divided into five shares and laid in five different heaps, one heap whereof your brother Assaryquoa sent to you to remember his friendship and unity with you; and as you are all of the same Nations, with whom we, the English, have been in league of friendship, nothing need be said more than this, that the President and Council and Assaryquoa have sent you this present to serve to strengthen the chain of friendship between us, the English, and the several Nations of Indians to which you belong. A French peace is a very uncertain one. They keep it no longer than their interest permits, then they break it without provocation given them. The French King's people have been almost starved in old France for want of provisions, which made them wish and seek for peace; but our wise people are of opinion that after their bellies are full, they will quarrel again and raise a war. All Nations in Europe know that their friendship is mixed with poison, and many that trusted too much on their friendship, have been ruined.

"I now conclude and say that we, the English, are your true brethren at all events, in token whereof receive this present." The goods being then uncovered, I proceeded.

"Brethren:

"You have of late settled on the river Ohio for the sake of hunting, and our traders followed you for the sake of hunting, too. You have invited them yourselves. Your brethren, the President and Council, de-

sire you will look upon them as your brethren and see that they have justice done. Some of your young men have robbed our traders, but you will be so honest as to compel them to make satisfaction. You are now become a people of note, and are grown very numerous of late years, and there are, no doubt, some wise men among you. It therefore becomes you to act the part of wise men, and for the future be more regular than you have been for some years past, when only a few young hunters lived here."

Gave a belt.

"Brethren:

"You have of late made frequent complaints against the traders bringing so much rum to your towns, and desired it might be stopped; and your brethren, the President and Council, made an Act accordingly and put a stop to it, and no trader was to bring any rum or strong liquors to your towns. I have the Act here with me and shall explain it to you before I leave you. But I think it is out of your brethren's power to stop it entirely. You send down your own skins by the traders to buy rum for you. You go yourselves and fetch horse loads of strong liquor. But the other day an Indian came to this town, out of Maryland, with three horse loads of liquor, so that it appears you love it so well that you cannot be without it. You know very well that the country near the endless mountain affords strong liquor, and the moment that the traders buy it, they are gone out of the inhabitants and are traveling to this place without being discovered. Besides this, you never agree about it—one will have it, the other won't (though very few), and a third says he will have it cheaper.

This last, we believe, is spoken from your hearts (here they laughed.) Your brethren, therefore, have ordered that every —— of whisky shall be sold to you for five bucks in your town, and if a trader offers to sell whisky to you, and will not let you have it at that price, you may take it from him and drink it for nothing."

Gave a belt.

"Brethren:

"Here is one of the traders, who you know to be a very sober and honest man. He has been robbed of the value of 300 bucks, and you all know by whom. Let, therefore, satisfaction be made to the trader."

Gave a string of wampum.

"Brethren, I have no more to say."

I delivered the goods to them, having first divided them into five shares—a share to the Senecas, another to the Cayugas, Oneidas, the Onondagas and Mohawks, another to the Delawares, another to the Owendaets, Tisagechroanu and Mohickons, and the other to the Shawnese.

The Indians signified great satisfaction and were well pleased with the cessation of arms. The rainy weather hastened them away with the goods into the houses.

18th. The speech was delivered to the Delawares in their own language, and also to the Shawnese in their's, by Andrew Montour, in the presence of the gentlemen that accompanied me. I acquainted the Indians I was determined to leave them to-morrow and return homewards.

19th. Scaiohady, Tannghrishon, Oniadagarehra, with a few more, came to my lodging and spoke as follows:

"Brother Onas:

"We desire you will hear what we are going to say

in behalf of all the Indians on the Ohio. Their Deputies have sent us to you.

"We have heard what you have said to us, and we return you many thanks for your kindness in informing us of what passed between the King of Great Britain and the French King, and in particular we return you many thanks for the large presents. The same we do to our brother Assaryquoa, who joined our brother Onas in making us a present. Our brethren have, indeed, tied our hearts to their's. We, at present, can but return thanks with an empty hand till another opportunity serves to do it sufficiently. We must call a great Council and do everything regular. In the meantime look upon us as your true brothers.

"Brother:

"You said the other day, in Council, if anything befell us from the French, we must let you know of it. We will let you know if we hear anything from the French, be it against us or yourself. You will have peace, but it's most certain that the Six Nations and their allies are upon the point of declaring war against the French. Let us keep up true correspondence and always hear of one another."

They gave a belt.

Scaiohady and the half King, with two others, had informed me that they often must send messengers to Indian towns and Nations, and had nothing in their Council bag, as they were new beginners, either to recompense a messenger or to get Wampum to do the business, and begged I would assist them with something. I had saved a piece of stroud, a half barrel of powder, 100 pounds of lead, 10 shirts, 6 knives and 1

pound of vermilion, and gave it to them for the aforesaid use. They returned many thanks and were mightily pleased.

The same day I set out for Pennsylvania, in rainy weather, and arrived at George Croghan's on the 28th instant.

CONRAD WEISER.

Pennsbury, September 29, 1748.

NO. VII.

Report of His Journey to Onondago.

In 1750, August 15th, I set out in the afternoon from my house in Heidelberg and came to Reading, on the Schuylkill, that day, 14 miles.

16. Came to Henry Sassaman in Maxatawny, 20 miles.

17. Came to Nazareth, 27 miles.

18. To Nicholas Depue, in Smithfield, on the Delaware, 30 miles.

19. To Henry Cortrecht, at Minissinks, 25 miles.

20. To Emanuel Pachal, 35 miles.

21. To Kingston, 44 miles.

22. Rained all day—lay by.

23. Crossed Hudson river for the sake of a better road. Rain continued. Came to Reinbeck, 10 miles.

24. Came to the Manor of Livingstone, 18 miles.

25. Came to Albany, 44 miles.

26. Lay still, being Sunday. Met Henry Peters and Nickas, two Chiefs of the Mohawks, with eight more of that Nation. The said Nickas and two more of

that company that came from Canada but a few days ago, where they had remained prisoners till now, complained of hard usage by the French, because they had served the English against the French in the late war, contrary to a league of friendship subsisting between the French and the Six Nations. I spent the evening with them in a public house and treated them with several bottles of wine.

August 27. Spent the forenoon with the said Indians, and conferred with them about my journey to Onondago. They told me that the Onondagas were most all in the English interest and had accepted of the French religion, and that Colonel William Johnson had a commission from the Governor of Carolina, but named Assaryquoa to bring about a peace between the Six Nations and the Cawtabaws, and had actually made propositions to the Six Nations about the affair. Henry told me privately that he did not believe Col. Johnson could bring the thing about; but if the Governor of Carolina would make him, Henry, a handsome present, or pay him well for his trouble, he could bring about a peace between the Six Nations and the Cawtabaws. He thought that I had that in commission and to invite the Six Nation Chiefs to come to Virginia to make a peace with the Cawtabaws. In the afternoon I left Albany and came to Hordman's Creek, 10 miles.

28. Came to Huntersfield, otherwise called Schochary, 26 miles.

29. Took a ride to a small Mohawk Indian town, about 8 miles southward, and conferred with the Indians there, they being my old acquaintances, as I had lived from the year 1714 till the year 1729 within two miles

of their town; they were very glad to see me, and acquainted me with everything I desired to know of them, and told me of the bad circumstances with the Six Nations, and that the Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas were turned Frenchmen, and that some of the Oneidas inclined that way, and that they abused the Mohawks and used them ill for being true to the English; that the Indian affairs lay neglected and nobody minded them, and that since the peace with the French, the Governor of New York never spoke to the Indians nor offered them anything, and that the Mohawks themselves who had fought against the French with the loss of much blood, received no thanks for their good service.

The 30th was spent with my old friends and acquaintances at the aforesaid place.

The 31st I set out through the woods for the Mohawk's country; it rained for the most part of the day, and having but a very blind Indian path, was lost, but accidentally met two Indians, who accompanied me to the Mohawk country, where we arrived about an hour after dark; came that day about 25 miles.

Sept. 1. Had a conference with some of the Chiefs of the Mohawks that live near Fort Hunter, among whom were Brand and Seth; they wanted to know what the Governor of Virginia had to say to the Six Nations of Indians, whether it was anything about the Cawtabaws. I told them I was sure that the invitation was in consequence of the Treaty of Lancaster held six years ago; that according to that Treaty the Government of Virginia had recommended the case of the Six Nations to the King of Great Britain, and that accordingly the King had sent a fine and large present to be given to the

Six Nations. After several other discourses, I went to Colonel William Johnson, about three miles from Fort Hunter, where I arrived about eleven o'clock, before noon, and was kindly received and hospitably entertained by the Colonel. He is the only and sole Commissioner of Indian Affairs in that Government. I staid twenty-four hours with him, and acquainted him with my business at Onondago. We had a great deal of discourse about Indian affairs. He showed me, among other papers relating to Indian affairs, a copy of a letter the Governor of South Carolina wrote to the Governor of New York, wherein the Governor of New York was desired to bring about a peace between the Six Nations and the Cawtabaws, which affair the Governor of New York had left to Colonel Johnson, who told me that he had already begun his negotiation and was in hopes to succeed, the Mohawks having promised him their assistance; that he had undertaken to bring five, six or ten of the Cawtabaws to the Mohawk country or Fort Hunter, to speak to the Mohawks first and to obtain their safeguard or protection to travel through the United Nations to Onondago. We both agreed that it was best for me not to say anything about the Cawtabaws, because he had made, as is to be hoped, a good beginning.

2. About ten o'clock I left Colonel Johnson's and came to Cana Johary, to Barthol Pickert, 25 miles. My horse got lame this day.

3. Came to Nicholas Pickert, about 8 miles, my horse very lame. Was obliged to leave him and hire another, and a man to guide us in the road to Onondago.

4. Came no further than Burnet's Field, where we

got our horses shod, and bought some provisions to carry through the wilderness to Onondago, 18 miles.

5. Came to George Cost, the last settlement of white people on the Mohawk river. Was obliged to leave the other horse I brought from Pennsylvania, and hired another. Staid all night. Traveled but 12 miles.

6. Set out from George Cost's by sunrise. Came, after eleven hours' ride, to Oneida, about 35 miles. It being but a very blind Indian path and many mud holes to pass, we arrived a little before dark, in rainy weather. The Oneida Indians being all at home, they called a Council.

7. The Council met and left me know that if I had anything to say to them, they were ready to hear me. I went to the house where they met, with the messenger that came for me, and acquainted them with what I had in charge from the Governor of Virginia, and desired them to send their Deputies with me to Onondago, to meet the Council of the Six United Nations, which they agreed to do. I desired them to send a messenger before me to Onondago, to acquaint the Onondagas of my coming with a message from their brother Assaryquoa, and that I desired they might kindle their Council fire. I gave a string of wampum to the messenger that went to Onondago, to be sent to the Cayugas and Senecas. The messenger set off immediately. The Oneidas desired me to spend that day with them, and said as the message was gone, I had time enough. The Council could not meet in less than six or seven days. I agreed to stay with them. The whole day was spent with some of their Chiefs discoursing about State affairs. They told me they had heard of my coming some days ago,

and were told that I came to invite the Indians to Virginia, to treat with the Cawtabaws about a peace, under the protection of Assaryquoa. I told them I had nothing to say about the Cawtabaws, and that the Governor of Virginia had other affairs to speak with them given him in charge by the King of Great Britain, concerning the chain of friendship between the English and the Six United Nations; that I was well assured they would not see a Cawtabaw there at Fredericksburg; perhaps some mention might be made of them, and perhaps not. They told me that their brethren, the English, had been hitherto deceived by the Cawtabaws, by looking on them as a people that sue for peace with the Six United Nations, but they know better. They (the Cawtabaws) had declared to the Tutulows and Cherokees they would never sue for a peace with the Six United Nations, that they would fight them whilst there was one of them alive, and that after their death their very bones shall fight the Six Nations, and that the Cawtabaws had murdered some of the friends of the Six Nations (the Tutulows and Cherokees) for offering their mediation to bring about a peace with the Six Nations, and that the Cawtabaws spake with contempt of the Six Nations, so that they, the Oneidas, wished none of their brethren, the English Governors, would meddle with the affair. If the Cawtabaws do actually want a peace with the Six United Nations, let them follow the example of the Cherokees, and come to our frontier towns and sue for it, and they will obtain it on the same condition as the Cherokees did. I told them that I supposed the Cawtabaws who would venture to come and sue for a peace, would be killed, because of the treachery they had been

guilty of about twenty years ago. They answered that several of the Cherokees had been killed by the Allies of the Six Nations on their way to the Seneca country, when they first came to sue for a peace; notwithstanding they proceeded on their journey and some arrived in the Seneca country, where they were safe and obtained their end; that perhaps such a thing might happen to the Cawtabaws. By the way they could not help that, but after their arrival at some of the frontier towns, they should be saved. They scorned to murder them after their arrival, and if they could not agree with them, they would send them safe to their own country, and told them that they will send after them, to kill them in the Cawtabaw country. They, the Six Nations, were too great a people and had too much honor to kill the Deputies of their enemies in their towns. Among other discourses they told me they were sorry to acquaint me that a great part of the Onondagas had gone over to the French and accepted of the French religion, and had suffered themselves to be misled by the French and the cunning of their Priests. They said it was by the neglect of the English and their ill management that ever since the peace the Governor of New York never spoke to them or gave them anything, while the French gave large presents to the Onondagas and others, in order to bring them over to the French. The Indians that served the English in the late war were not well used. Some stout warriors, who had the misfortune to be made prisoners, were not redeemed by the English till about a month ago, and were kept in irons in Canada all along and had hard usage; that since they came home, nobody minded them; that some had wives and children, and

nobody took care of them whilst the husband or father was in prison in Canada; that the French had more charity for their Indians than the English had to their's; they seemed to lament over the division of the Indians as well as over the division of white people. The head of the Oneidas, Disononto by name, a man of above seventy years of age, but yet strong and nimble, asked me several times whether I knew the reason of the Governor of New York and the great men of that Province (the Assembly) disagreeing. I told him I did not, and asked several other questions about public affairs that I could not answer. This Disononto fought under Col. Schyler when the Mohawk towns were burned and were taken captives by the French in the former century, and is a man of exceedingly great parts. I sat up with him in my lodging till almost midnight.

8. I set out for Canachsoragy, a Tuscarora town, about 18 miles off, where I arrived after seven hours ride. Met a messenger from Onondago on the way, by which messenger the Onondagas did let me know that they were sorry to acquaint me that Canassatego, their Chief, died the night before last, and that in consequence thereof there could be no Council summoned, and they were sorry I came so far, because of the present melancholy time.

N. B. It is to be known that the Six Nations don't meet in Council when they are in mourning, till some of their friends or neighbors wipe off their tears and comfort their hearts. It is a certain ceremony, and if they appear in Council without that ceremony being performed, the dead person was of no credit or esteem, and it is a certain affront to the deceased's friends, if he has any.

About an hour after my arrival at Canachsoragy, another messenger arrived from Onondago, to let me know that notwithstanding the melancholy event that befell Onondago, the Council had upon a second thought resolved to hear me, because I came such a great way; though contrary to their ancient custom, they desired I would proceed on my journey, and that a Council of the Six Nations was accordingly summoned.

9. I set out from Canachsoragy and arrived after eight hours ride at Onondago. Took up my lodging, as usual, with Tohashwuchdioony, a house which stood now by itself, the rest of the Onondagas having moved over the Creek, some a mile, two miles, three miles off. Saristaquoah came to see me, so did Hatachsogo, two Chiefs. An old man and a member of the Council came with me from Canassoragy. He began to sing a lamentation song just when we set out, to signify to me in an allegorical way that the town where I was going to, was no more inhabited by such good friends as formerly, and now more especially since the *Word* died, meaning Canassatego, the evil spirits would reign and bring forth thorns and briars out of the earth; his name is Gechdachery, a brother of Soterwanachty, deceased; at the resting place I treated him with a dram of good rum, and told him that nothing was certain in the world, and that the great Being that created the world, knew how to govern it, that I believed he would order everything well, to which he said Amen in his way.

10. Saristaquoah came again to see me; the rest of the Chiefs being in mourning, did not appear; the Indians seemed to be much affected by the death of Canassatego, as they have lost several of their head men in a

short time; three noted men died on their journey to and from Philadelphia, to wit: Tocanihan, Caxhayion, and Soterwanachty, a Chief.

11. Nothing was done and no Deputies arrived. In my going up I was told by Mr. Livingstone, at his Manor, and Colonel Johnson, in the Mohawk country, that the French had erected a new Fort at St. Lawrence river, at a place called Swegatsy, not far from the Lake Frontinac, for the Indians, and that a certain French Priest was there to instruct the Indians in the French religion, and that he clothed all the Indians that came to live there, and built houses and cleared land for them at his own or at the French King's cost, and that one-half of the Onondagas had actually begun to live there. Of all this I was confirmed when I came to Onondago, by several creditable persons and by the Council of Onondago itself, with this addition, that the French Priest at Swegatsy had made about a hundred converts among the Onondagas, men, women and children, that came to live at Swegatsy last spring, and that the aforesaid French Priest had clothed them all in very fine clothes, laced with silver and gold, and took them down and presented them to the French Governor at Montreal, who had received them very kindly and made them large presents. Several of the said converts came back to Onondago and drank away their fine clothes and reported that the French Priest at Swegatsy was not good and endeavored to make slaves of the Indians, notwithstanding his fine speeches he makes to the Indians; that in one of them he had told them Onontiquoah, the French King, did look upon the Indians as his own children, and would take care that they should

not want nor nobody should hurt them ; that he would appoint a great man as a guardian over him, whom he hoped his children, the Indians, would obey as their father Onontiquoah himself, in every respect, and that the new converts should not mind what the unconverted Indians said in their foolish Council, that their father Onontiquoah would find everything for them and protect them against all nations, so that they had no need of an Indian government; this they interpret that the French want to make slaves of them, and in a mocking way tell one another, 'Go and get baptized again by your Father and bring home fine clothes that we may get some drink.' 'No,' said another, still joking, 'he will be hanged now if he goes again for fine clothes ; his Father is angry because his holy water is of no force with the Indians ;' many such discourses I have heard, by which I saw plainly that they do not pay any respect to any religion, let it come from where it will, if they do not get drink by it.

12. No Deputies arrived. I heard that Ontachsina, the French Interpreter, who resided in the Seneca country during the late war, was gone through the Seneca country on his way to Ohio, with merchant goods and five or six Frenchmen with him, and told the Senecas that he had orders from the Governor of Canada to drive away the English traders from Ohio with the assistance of the Indians.

13. The Deputies of the Oneidas and Tuscaroras arrived, making in all five in number; the Cayugas sent word that they could not come, so did the Senecas, the Cayugas having empowered the Oneidas to act in their behalf; the said Deputies and I went out in the bushes

and had a Council by ourselves over the death of Canassatego; we agreed to condole with the Onondagas, and to comfort them and wipe off their tears in the usual way; I gave a large string of wampum towards the expenses or for performing the ceremony; the Oneidas and Tuscaroras did the same, and we nominated Ganachquayieson, a Chief of the Oneidas, to be speaker. About noon the Council of Onondago met, the Chiefs of the Onondagas now present being Tahashwuchdioony, Hatachsogo, Gechdachery, and Ganodu, with about twenty others. Ganachquayieson opened the Council and desired to be heard as soon as the Council pleased; he was answered that they were ready to hear him immediately. After a short pause he began to speak and directed his discourse to the Onondagas and said:

"Father (so the Oneidas, Cayugas and Tuscaroras style or address the Onondagas, Senecas and Mohawks), we, your sons, the Oneidas, Cayugas and Tuscaroras, jointly with your brother Assaryquoa, entered your door in a very melancholy time, when your eyes were almost blind with the tears you shed, and when your heart is sorrowful to the highest degree for the death of that great man, our Word, who died but the other day (a dead man's name must not be mentioned among those people.) We, your sons and your brother before named, make bold to come near you, in order to comfort you in your trouble and to wipe off the tears from your eyes, and to clean your throat, to enable you to see about you and to speak out again; we also clean the place where you sit from any deadly distemper that may remain on it, and might, perhaps, have been the occasion of the great man's death." Here the speaker gave a string of

wampum of three rows in behalf of the Oneidas, Cayugas and Tuscaroras. I gave another of the same size, with a belt of wampum, to cover the grave of the deceased. After a short pause I desired to be heard, to which they answered they were ready to hear me. Then I said: "Brethren, the Six United Nations, to wit, Togarihoan, Sagosanagechteront, Dyionenhogaron, Neharontoquoah, Sanonowantowano and Tuscarora, I am sent to your Council fire by your brother Assaryquoa, and what I am going to say to you is according to his request." I gave a string of wampum, and proceeded. "Brethren, the Governor of Virginia desires that you will come to Fredericksburg, a town a little way from Cachwangarodon (Potomac), to a public Treaty, and to receive such presents as the King of Great Britain, your father, has ordered to be given to you by the Governor of Virginia, in consequence of the Treaty of Lancaster held about six years ago." I gave a large string of wampum, and proceeded. "Brethren, the Governor of Virginia will kindle a Council fire at Fredericksburg in Virginia, where you may sit in safety as under the shadow of a great tree, as at your own fire at Onondago, to hear what your brother, the Governor of Virginia, will say to you by the direction of the King of Great Britain, your father. The things that will be said to you will be of importance and altogether for the good of the public, especially the Six United Nations, tending to their preservation. For the confirmation of what I have now said to you, your brother Assaryquoa, the Governor of Virginia, gives you this belt of wampum." Here I gave a large belt of wampum.

I concluded, and desired to have their answer that

night, if possible. I was told that I should have their answer on the morrow.

By sunset the Onondagas gave thanks for the condolement, and returned the compliment by a long oration made by Tahashwuchdiony, and gave a string of wampum of three rows to the Oneidas, Cayugas and Tuscaroras, and one to me, and desired that we may yet be comforted over the death of the great man.

15. The Indians being in Council all day, in the evening I was told by three of them that were sent to me, that I should have my answer at the Oneida's town on my return, which they hoped would be satisfactory.

16. According to custom, I put out the present Council fire which was kindled by me and took my leave of the Onondagas, and came with the Deputies of the Oneidas and Tuscaroras to Canasoragy before night. Bought a quart of rum here for me and my companions to drink at six shillings, but the company being too great, I was obliged to buy two other quarts.

17. Arrived by rainy weather at Oneida about two o'clock in the afternoon; the Oneidas met immediately in Council and after about two hours' consultation by themselves, they sent for me and told me that they were ready to give me an answer, and desired me to hear; I told them I was ready to hear. The speaker directed his discourse to the Governor of Virginia and said:

"Brother Assaryquoa: We take your invitation very kindly, and return you our hearty thanks. We would be very glad to see you, but every time that we have been down with our brother Onas in Philadelphia, we lost so many men, and last year we lost twenty, among which number were several of our Chiefs; the evil spir-

its that dwell among the white people, are against us and kill us, and we are now in a manner like orphans; all our great and wise men are dead, and as you live so much deeper within the settlements of the white people, the evil spirits must needs be more numerous, and of course will be more destructive to us. We, therefore, desire that you will move our Council fire to Albany, and kindle it there, which can be but little or no trouble to you, since you have vessels to come by water, and at Albany we will gladly hear you and receive the presents sent by the Great King over the waters for the lands some of our former Deputies assigned to you; we desire that you will take our answer in good part and come to Albany to meet us at our Council fire there burning." The speaker gave me a large belt of wampum.

"Brother Assaryquoa: The belt of wampum you gave us concerning your Council fire we will answer and exchange when we shall have the pleasure to see you in Albany. We will do all that is in our power to please you. Pray consider well our circumstances, and you will then do the just thing." The speaker gave another smaller string of wampum.

After some pause I told them that I believed the Governor of Virginia could not come to Albany, and would, perhaps, give the presents to the Indians at Ohio, as the Ohio Indians were one and the same with the Six United Nations and of their own blood. They made answer that the Ohio Indians were but hunters, and no Councilors or chief men, and they had no right to receive presents that were due to the Six Nations, although they might expect to have a share, but that share they must receive from the Six Nations' Chief, under whom they belong.

I took my leave and told them what I had said last was my own thought, and I would let their brother Assaryquoa know what had passed, as soon as I came home.

18. Set out from Oneida; came to George Cost after sunset.

19. Came to Burnet's Field in rainy weather, and on the 20th to the upper Castle of the Mohawks, called Canawadagy. The said Indians being from home when I went up, they now met and desired to know what passed at Onondago and what success I had. I informed them of everything, and told them that I found our brethren, the Six Nations, quite of another disposition than formerly, and that I had the strongest reason to believe that their heart was turned from their brethren, the English. They answered that it was true what I had said—the French had too great an interest with the Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas; they complained of the ill management of the English in Indian affairs, and said that they were afraid to be cut off by aforesaid Nations, because they charge them, the Mohawks, to be slaves of the English. Several other complaints they had, but I could say nothing to them.

I recommended John Picket, my sister's son, to them to learn the Mohawk tongue perfectly among them, to serve as Interpreter for Pennsylvania, &c., after I am grown old and no more able to travel; they promised to do what they could; the young man speaks their language tolerably well now, and can write and read English, Dutch and Indian. His father lives but a mile from Canawadagy, and has the best opportunity to learn the Indian language perfectly.

21. Took my leave of them and took my route di-

rectly towards Schoharie, or Hunter's Field, by a blind Indian path, and from the late mentioned place to Catskill, also by a small Indian path, a much nearer way than I went, and arrived at my house on the first day of October, in perfect health.

P. S. The Chiefs of Onondago inquired what was done to the settlers on their land near Juniata Creek and thereabouts. I told them that the Governor of Pennsylvania had sent his Secretary to the spot with some Magistrates and Sheriffs to remove the settlers; that accordingly the people were ordered to come away instantly; some had resisted and taken up arms; had their cabins burned after the goods were taken out by the people that came with the Secretary; that some of the people were imprisoned; that to all this I had been an eye witness; that some that seemed to be good natured (upon their submission and supplication) had obtained liberty to gather in their small crops, but had promised to come away in the fall; that some of the Shamokin Indians had been present all along and saw what was done. They signified their satisfaction to me, and told me they were very glad that their brother, the Governor of Pennsylvania, had taken notice of their complaint.

They repeated over and over that the Indians on the Ohio had no right to sell any land about Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, or Ohio, and that what share they might have a right to demand of the presents the Six United Nations received for the land, must be adjusted by the Chiefs of the said Nations; that the Ohio Indians lived on a good hunting place and were in a manner only gone to hunt there, and their relations at home

received hitherto their share of the consideration or presents for the lands.

Onondago was thick with French Praying Indians when I was there. Eight or nine of them came to see me, and owned they came from Canada to see their friends at Onondago, and behaved very civil to me. I was told by Tahashronchdioony, the Chief, that all the belts of wampum belonging to the public from the several English Governors that remained unanswered at the death of Canassatego, and found in his possession, were by his orders burned with him. This the said Chief said to make Canassatego a thief after his death. Some imagine that his widow and family stole them.

CONRAD WEISER.

October 10, 1750.

NO. VIII.

Report of His Journey to Onondago, 1751.

June 27, 1751. Arrived in Albany. The 30th following the Indians arrived. Several of the Chiefs came to see me that very day, and all the Indians were impatient to hear my message. On the 5th of July I went to his Excellency, the Governor of New York, to ask leave to deliver my message. I had not the honor to see his Excellency, but one Mr. Askew carried my request to him, who brought back answer, to wit, that his Excellency must have it in writing, in order to lay it before the Council. I told Mr. Askew that I could say no more to the Indians than what was contained in my instructions. The Governor wanted to see them. I

sent them immediately. After they were read in Council they were returned to me, and I was told that the Governor wanted to speak to me sometime in the afternoon. Accordingly, in the afternoon I was sent for. When I came to the Governor, Mr. Golding was with him. His Excellency was pleased to tell me that he wanted to speak to the Indians that morning, but they were somewhere else engaged—he did not know where. Then required me not to speak to the Indians before he had done with them, and that I must give him in writing what I would say to them. I made answer that I had it in charge not to speak to the Indians without his Excellency's approbation and foreknowledge, and had nothing else to say than what was contained in my instructions (which I showed again), then in my hand. As for the Indians coming to see me, I could not lock up my door upon them. I did not care to offend them. His Excellency replied that he would not have me to offend the Indians, and so dismissed me for that time.

July 9. Waited on his Excellency again, to obtain leave to deliver my message. Was told that as soon as the Cawtabaws had their answer, I should.

July 10. His Excellency gave me leave to deliver my message. I acquainted the Indians accordingly, and they met me that evening at my lodging; and as on such occasions some particular ceremonies are used, I employed Canachquaieson, an Oneida Chief, to perform them for me. He was but the other day employed by friend Stephans, an Interpreter for the New York Government, on the same occasion.

After most of the Indians met, Canachquaieson stood up and begged me to walk up and down the floor, and

to sing lamentation songs in a very melancholy tune, which he continued until all were met, and some time after the song mention was made of the person or persons for whom he mourned, and their virtue praised.

Then he told the Indians that the Governor of Pennsylvania had sent Tarachowagon with a message to the Six United Nations, which would now be delivered to them, and that what would be now said to them, were the very words of the Governor and the people of Pennsylvania. A string of wampum was given.

The speaker, Canachquaieson, being before informed of my whole message, I only repeated the beginning, and gave him a belt of wampum; he then went on and said:

"Brethren, the Six United Nations—The Governor of Pennsylvania was but last year informed of the death of several of the Chiefs of the Six United Nations, dying on their way homewards from Philadelphia, and of the death of Canassatego and Silgo Van Ackly, who both died since their arrival at their own town.

"The Governor of Pennsylvania was very sorry to hear of the death of those his good friends and brethren, and has, therefore, sent Tarachowagon to the Council fire at Onondago with a present, to signify to the Council of the Six United Nations that himself and the people of Pennsylvania condole with them on the loss of such valuable persons, and has sent that present to wipe off their tears." Eight pieces of strouds were laid before them, and a string of wampum given. A piece of strouds was delivered in particular (on the death of Canassatego) to the Onondagas. *Item:* Seven stroud matchcoats on the death of Cunjaquoa, a noted warrior among the Mohawks, killed by the French in the late war in his Majesty's service.

Item: Six stroud matchcoats on the death of a son of Cayenquarachton, a Seneca Chief, who was killed after the same manner.

Songs of lamentation were sung by Canachquaieson on the death of these two great warriors, who had made a sacrifice of their lives for the common cause and in obedience to his Majesty, King George.

The Indians appeared well pleased and looked upon the present as a large one on such an occasion. The Indians had a consultation together for a good while about an answer. I understood they were at a loss for some skins to send as a present to the Governor of Pennsylvania to wipe off his and his people's tears over the death of Canassatego, and others. I gave them to understand that they need not stop for that at this time; that I would excuse them in the best manner I could with the Governor and people of Pennsylvania, as I knew they had parted with what they had on other occasions; and I gave them further to understand that at a certain hour that night I must go on board the only vessel that was left, and stayed on purpose to take me in by the time of high water, to which they consented. The Governor of New York, and his Council and other gentlemen, being all gone that afternoon.

Then Abraham, a Mohawk Chief, stood up and returned thanks in the best manner he could, and said a great deal of the satisfaction this present gave them, and that they took it as a fresh token of the brotherly love of the Governor and people of Pennsylvania towards the Six United Nations; and desired me to return thanks, in their behalf, to the Governor and people of Pennsylvania in the best manner I could, and gave a string of wampum.

By another string of wampum he said, "Brother Tarachowagon, we thank you for this visit. We will take care of your son. We look upon him as one of our own children. We will use our best endeavors to learn him to speak our language well. We are very glad you brought him to us as to your town. It shows that you retain the same love as you did formerly to us."

The Indians expressed, in general, a good deal of satisfaction, and shook hands with Sammy Weiser and Daniel Clause, to signify to them that they received them kindly. So the business ended.

CONRAD WEISER.

NO. IX.

His Journey to the Mohawk Country.

July 24, 1753. Set out from my house in Heidelberg, Berks county. Arrived in Philadelphia.

July 26. Waited on his Honor, the Governor, and received my instruction.

July 28. Set out with the stage boat for Bordentown.

Aug. 1. Arrived in New York early in the morning. Being taken ill, I sent my son Sammy with one Henry Vanden Ham to Flushing on Long Island, to wait on Governor Clinton and deliver Governor Hamilton's letter to him. Governor Clinton being gone to the plains, they left the letter with his lady and returned the next day.

Aug. 4. Went on board an Albany sloop, one Jacob Shunshack, Commander.

Aug. 7. At five o'clock I arrived in Albany. Next

day, in the morning, delivered Governor Hamilton's letter to the Mayor, Mr. Sanders, who thought proper to call the Commissioners of Indian Affairs to meet at four o'clock in the afternoon, to concert measures to bring back the poor prisoners from Canada belonging to Pennsylvania, taken in January last on the waters of the Ohio, the said prisoners having written several letters praying his assistance for their relief, which letters Mr. Sanders gave me to peruse.

Accordingly, at four o'clock, the Commissioners met at the house of one Lottridge, and a French Indian Squaw was sent for, who had one of the prisoners, to wit, Jabez Evans, in her family, given to her instead of Degarihogan, her son or relation, who died two years ago.

The Indian woman's name was Susanna, wife of one Thanyuchta. She was a noted woman, and none of the Indians of that country were in Albany but young lads. She being asked how it came that those poor people were taken prisoners in time of peace, she made answer that some of the Caghnawaga warriors went to fight the Oyadackuchraono, and happened to meet some of them at some distance from their country, accompanied by these white men, who, when they saw that the Cachnawagas would or had a mind to kill or take the Oyadackuchraono, they, the English, made resistance, and wounded one of their men with a musket ball in his arm, upon which they resolved to take the white people as well as the Indians, and brought them away to Canada, leaving their horses and things upon the spot; and when they came to Canada, they presented the said prisoners to the Governor General, and told him how

things happened, and that the Governor made answer he would have nothing to do with those prisoners, upon which they, the Indians, took them to their towns, and three of them were given to an Indian living in Cachnawaga, one to the Indians at Canassategy, and two were imprisoned at Quebec, for what reason she did not know.

The Commissioners told the woman that they had received several letters from these poor prisoners praying for relief (this very woman had brought one from Jabez Evans), and as they were taken in time of peace, they desired that they might be brought back again; that the Commissioners would make reasonable satisfaction to those that had them in their houses and had used them kindly, if they would bring them over. The Commissioners sent a belt of wampum (which I did provide) to the chief men of Caghnawaga, called Anuchrakechty, to require his good office for the release of these prisoners, which the woman undertook faithfully to deliver. She being a very intelligent woman, I desired Mr. Sanders to give her a piece of eight to buy some bread for her return, which she received very thankfully. I served the Commissioners as Interpreter, because it was thought fit that my name should not be mentioned, for fear that the expectation of the Indians would rise too high. But the woman asked me where I lived, because I could talk their language so well. She wondered that I was never heard of. I told her I lived at Schoharie, and traveled up and down among the Indians, and so forth. By way of discourse she informed that the conduct of those Indians that brought the English prisoners was not approved of at Cach-

nawaga, and that the rest of the Indians were angry at those that took them, and in their drunkenness would call them old women and breakers of the peace, and that it was a shame to take people that had not offended and in time of peace—that it appeared plain to the Indians that those prisoners had done no harm.

Aug. 9. Set out from Albany with a Schenectady wagon for the Mohawk country.

Aug. 10. Stayed at Schenectady, it being a rainy day. Met Henry Peters, the Chief of the Mohawks (he that made so much noise in New York), on his way to Stockbridge, at the house of Arrant Stevens, the Provincial Interpreter, who I went to visit, and had some talk with him about Indian affairs.

Aug. 11. Hired a man and two horses, to carry me to the Mohawk country, where I arrived the same day, and was kindly received by Colonel Johnson.

Aug. 12. Abraham Canusta, another Chief of Canajohary, arrived on his way to Albany. We went together to the Mohawk Castle, to attend the public worship with the Indians. I met some more of the Chiefs —gave them an invitation to come and see me at Col. Johnson's, to have some talk together about the news now stirring abroad everywhere.

Aug. 13. With a string of wampum, I delivered my message to the Chiefs of the Mohawks, to wit, Seth Degarihogan, Kanadakayon, Kenadochary and Kellian, in the presence of Col. Johnson. After about an hour's time they made answer (Kanadakayon, speaker) that they were in the same condition and labored under the same difficulties with their brethren, the English; that all what they could say, was of hearsay, though from

good authority, and that they believed it was too true, to wit: That the French passed Oswego with a very numerous army of men well armed, and some great guns, and gave it to understand to the Six Nations that they intend to take possession of their lands at the Ohio, which land they said did belong to them from old times, and that they would build strong houses at the carrying places, Jonasky, a carrying place, Attoniat, the middle of the carrying place, and at the Ohio, where they take water, and at Logstown, and so take possession quite down, till they met the French coming from below; and that they would give warning once or twice to the English traders on the Ohio to remove. If they did, it was well; otherwise they would strike them. The same they would do to the Shawnese, to remove or kill them. As to all the rest of the Indians, they would not meddle with them if they behaved well and sat still; otherwise, if they disputed the French's right to the land, and would appear to be offended with what the French were now doing, they, the French, would make use of their arms that they made use of from the beginning of times; that they still knew how to use them against the Indians as well as in former times, and feared nothing.

That upon this the Senecas sent a message to their brother Colonel Johnson, to ask how long they had to live, and what was the intention of the French. They thought the Colonel must know, and begged earnestly to be informed how things were. That the Colonel sent three belts of wampum, to let them know that it was that what he often had told them, that if they did not stand upon their guard and would now suffer the French

to take possession of Ohio or build strong houses anywhere upon the Six Nations' land, it would be over with the Six Nations, and their union would signify nothing more. That they must now stand up and show that they are a people of note, or loose all, &c. This message was to go to Canayiahagy, as well as through the Six Nations, but the Senecas stopped it, and sent their own message, to let the Canayiahagons know that they must sit still, notwithstanding the French's expedition.

They desired that this, my message, might be delivered to the Six Nations at Onondago, and further Kanadakyon said not.

Had some hours talk with the before named Abrabam, an old acquaintance of mine, who is looked upon to be the most sincere Indian of that Nation. He told me by way of discourse that the Six Nations were afraid of the French, because they, the Indians, being so divided and the French Alliance among the Indians so strong, that the Six Nations could not prevent the French in their undertakings. That the English had lost ground among the Indians in the time of the last war. That although the English, their brethren, should supply them with ammunition and clothing, they could not resist the French without a numerous body of Englishmen that would and could fight. That the French were now about taking possession of Ohio, against the will of the Six Nations, but they could not resist. That he was well assured that as soon as the French had possession of Ohio and built strong houses there, they would send their Indian Allies against the southern Indians in league with the English, to wit, the Cawtabaws, Chero-

kees, Cawidas, &c., to enforce them, the said Indians, to sue for peace, and to acknowledge Onontio for their father, and so make himself master of all the Indians and their lands.

I was told the same by Kanadakayon, another Chief of the Mohawks.

Colonel Johnson showed me his commission and instruction, which he had from the Governor of New York under the broad seal of that Government. I judged thereby that he did not want my company, because he never asked me to go with him, or proceed on my journey. I had told him before that I had set out from Philadelphia to go to Onondago by Governor Hamilton's order, but as he had such a commission (having been informed on the way), I thought my journey to Onondago would be needless. He said he left it to me, but I perceived some coolness in him as to my going. I thought it was best not to proceed any further at this time, but to return.

The Colonel has been very kind to me, and entertained me and my son very handsomely during my stay, and was open and free in all discourses to me, and would have me to exchange now and then a letter with him ; and whenever I came to the Mohawk country to make his house my home, and offered to do all the service to the Province of Pennsylvania and myself that he possibly could in Indian affairs.

Aug. 14. Took my leave of Colonel Johnson and arrived in Schenectady.

Aug. 15. Arrived in Albany, where I was informed that a letter from his Excellency, Governor Clinton, to me was sent yesterday to Schenectady after me by one

Thomas Orman, who happened to be the same person that brought me just then to Albany in his wagon. He was called to account for it immediately. He said that the letter must be in his coat pocket, which he left at home. He promised to bring it to Albany the next day, early in the morning. I told him I would not pay him till he brought the letter, but he did not bring it. It was judged that he lost it.

Aug. 18. I left Albany. Arrived in New York on the 23d, in the night.

Aug. 24. Waited on Edward Holland, one of the Council, to know whether Governor Clinton was expected in town. He did not know. I went to wait on Mr. Kennedy for the same purpose, who told me that his Excellency was very ill, and he, Mr. Kennedy, would go to Flushing to-morrow to see him, and would inform his Excellency of my return from the Mohawk country, and that he would be back again the same day.

Aug. 25. I waited on him again in the evening, but Mr. Kennedy told me that all the horses and chairs over the river were employed, and that he could get none, which prevented his going to Flushing.

Aug. 26. Being Sunday.

Aug. 27. I went to Flushing, on Long Island, seventeen miles from New York, to wait on Governor Clinton. He happened to be from home, but came in by one o'clock. I paid him my compliments at his door. He called me in and asked me how far I had been, and signified to me that it was a wrong step in me to proceed to Albany before I had his directions. I asked pardon and told him my reason why I proceeded. His Excellency said it was well. He did not disapprove so

much of my proceeding as of my son not staying for an answer. His Excellency seemed well enough pleased with my return, and of my not proceeding to Onondago, and was pleased to tell me that he intended to be in New York next Wednesday, and would then have me to wait on him and take a letter to Governor Hamilton, and so dismissed me, but would have me to stay and eat a bit of victuals first; he ordered his attendants accordingly to get it for me and my companion. After dinner I left Flushing and arrived in New York the same evening.

Aug. 29. His Excellency arrived in New York in the evening.

Aug. 30. By seven o'clock a package of letters, directed to Governor Hamilton, was sent to my lodging by one of Governor Clinton's attendants, who told my landlord (I being gone to take a walk and to inform myself if Governor Clinton came to town last night) that his Excellency, Governor Clinton, wished me a good journey to Pennsylvania, and desired to mention his compliments to Governor Hamilton and deliver that package of letters to him. I being not altogether pleased with this message, went about nine o'clock to the Governor's house in the Fort, and one Mr. Askew went up to tell the Governor that I wanted to see him and take my leave of him. Mr. Askew came down again and told me that the Governor sent his compliments to me and wished me a good journey to Philadelphia, and desired I would mention his compliments to Governor Hamilton. I left New York the same day, at twelve o'clock, and arrived in Philadelphia on the second day of September, at seven o'clock in the morning.

CONRAD WEISER, Interpreter.

P. S. Before I left Albany, I desired the favor of Mr. Ogilvie, the English Minister, an acquaintance of mine, that if Governor Clinton's letter to me directed should be sent back to Albany from Shenectady or the Mohawk country, to send it after me to New York or Philadelphia, which Mr. Ogilvie accordingly did, and it was delivered to my son by Alexander Colden, Deputy Post Master in New York.

Dated in Philadelphia, Sept. 2, 1753.

NO. X.

Journal of His Proceedings at Aucquick.

On the 24th of August, 1754, I received the Governor's instructions. Left Philadelphia that evening, the weather being excessively hot. I arrived at my house in Heidelberg on the 27th, and rested on the 28th. The weather being altered, I sat out for Aucquick.

Aug. 29. Left my house and arrived at James Galbrath's that day.

Aug. 30. Arrived early in the morning at John Harris' Ferry, and heard that the Half King had been arrived on the river about four days ago, and was now down the river at one Taafe's house. I sent my son down to him with a string of wampum, to invite him to come up to me, and accordingly he came within a few hours, and after some friendly discourses he agreed to set out with me next morning to Aucquick. He being a little in liquor, some gentlemen from Philadelphia met him at the said Taafe's, and were glad to see him and gave him plentiful of drink.

Aug. 31. The Half King, according to appointment,

came early in the morning to see me, and told me what he knew of the last engagement of Major Washington and the French near Monongahela; and before we had our breakfast, some Indians halloed over the river, and soon after we saw it was Andrew Montour, Nicholas Quebec and others; and by their coming I was obliged to stay till after dinner, in order to talk over measures about my message. They, the last mentioned, informed me that a great meeting was appointed at Aucquick, wherein the Indians from Ohio and those on the river Susquehanna would be present, and that the meeting would be about the 4th of September next. I desired Andrew Montour to accompany me to Aucquick; so did the Half King. Towards evening we set off and got but to Tobias Hendricks.

Sept. 1. I thought best to alter my route and not go along the great road, for some particular reasons; took, therefore, the road to George Croghan's Cape and Sheerman's Creek, and arrived that day at Andrew Montour's, accompanied by himself, the Half King and another Indian, and my son. I found at Andrew Montour's about fifteen Indians—men, women and children—and more had been there, but were now gone. Andrew's wife had killed a sheep for them some days ago. She complained that they had done great damage to the Indian corn, which was now fit to roast; and I found that there were most every day Indians of those that came from Ohio with some errand or another, who always wanted some victuals in the bargain. I gave him ten pounds of the Government's money.

Sept. 2. We set out from Andrew Montour's without any provisions, because he told me we should be at

Aucquick before night. We rode six hours before noon and three hours after. Took up lodging in the woods.

Sept. 3. We set out by six o'clock, and by eight we came to the Through Spring, by nine to the Shadow of Death, by eleven to the Black Log, and by twelve arrived at Aucquick. The Indians fired off many guns to make me welcome, according to their custom. By the way Tanacharisson, otherwise called the Half King, complained very much of the behavior of Colonel Washington to him (though in a very moderate way, saying the Colonel was a good natured man, but had no experience), saying that he took upon him to command the Indians as his slaves, and would have them every day upon the outscout and attack the enemy by themselves, and that he would by no means take advice from the Indians; that he lay at one place from one full moon to the other and made no fortifications at all, but that little thing upon the meadow, where he thought the French would come up to him in open field; that had he taken the Half King's advice and made such fortifications as the Half King advised him to make, he would certainly have beat the French off; that the French had acted as great cowards, and the English as fools in that engagement; that he (the Half King) had carried off his wife and children, so did other Indians before the battle began, because Colonel Washington would never listen to them, but always driving them on to fight by his directions.

I intended a meeting, but the Indians were beforehand with me, and came into the house, and, according to old custom, said:

"Brother: We are glad to see you, and as you came

a great way through the woods, we come to wash off the sweat from your face and the dust from out of your eyes, in order to make you look the clearer about you, and see us, your brethren, without anything between us. We also clear your throat, in order to make you speak freely to us in what you have to say to us in behalf of the Governor of Pennsylvania, and clear your heart and mind from all prejudice whatsoever." They gave a string.

This evening Mr. Croghan, at my request, desired the Shawnese and Delawares to repeat over to me everything what they said to him at their first arrival. Accordingly on the 4th, early in the morning, the Shawnese and Delawares sent for me to their cabin, and spoke to me as follows (Wabadikisy, alias Little Johnny, as speaker):

"Brother, the Governor of Pennsylvania: We heard at our own country so many flying stories, and among other things we heard that all our brethren that came away from Ohio first, were all killed by you. That was the reason of our coming here, to inquire and find out the truth of the matter, and of every other thing that passes. We give you this string of wampum to wipe off the tears from your eyes, to enable you to look clearly about you, and see your brethren and hear what they have to say." Here they had given a string.

"Brother, the Governor: I have now wiped off the tears from your eyes. I will now ease your heart and take away all the trouble of your thought, so that you may lay aside all prejudice and judge right." Here they had given a string.

"Brother, the Governor of Pennsylvania and Vir-

ginia: As a treaty held last fall between us, you desired us to be still and quiet, and mind nothing of anything whatever we should hear, and only mind and assist in Council affairs. We have hitherto followed your advice, and lest you may think we are in the French interest, because we were not engaged in the skirmish some of your people had with the French some time ago, we assure you, by this string of wampum, that we are still your friends and brethren, as we always have been, and acted agreeable to what you told us." Here they had given a string.

Then the Delawares spoke by Dishickamy: "Brother, the Governor of Pennsylvania: We, your brethren, the Delawares, are one people with you and your old and first friends among the Indians. We undertook to recommend the speech our grand-children, the Shawnese, now made to you, to be the truth and a word that came from their hearts, so that you may believe them, which we hope and earnestly desire you will do, and this string of wampum is our letter of further assurance to you as from your old friends.

"Brethren, the Governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia: At our last Treaty you desired us to mind nothing but Council affairs; and you desired us to keep up a good correspondence with all our Indian Allies, and to desire them to do the same till we should hear further. We let you know that we have followed your advice, and have sent to all our Allies to the South and to the West, and informed them accordingly of your good advice, and they all acted accordingly and approved of your Council."

The Shawnese again spoke: "Brethren, the Gov-

ernors of Pennsylvania and Virginia: We thank you for your kind office in getting our people that were in prison in South Carolina, released and sent home to us, though one of them is dead (it was very unfortunate and a great pity that it happened to be Lawachkamicky, the bride), who was a noted man among the Shawnese, a great warrior and a true friend to the English. He is very much lamented by that Nation, and the Most High knows how he came to his end. We are content, and his death will by no means occasion a breach of friendship between us and you, and we have left all our Allies know the kindness you have done in procuring our people's liberty, and that they were safely sent home by you." Here ends the Shawnese speech.

I bought some goods of Mr. Croghan to wipe off the tears from Lawachkamicky's friends and family, and to cover his grave according to Indian fashion. His brother was here present, and his brother-in-law, the young King.

I condoled also with them in the name of this Government over the death of the Shawnese Chief that died at Captain McKee's last month. His son was here present. The dead man's name was Kissakochquilla.

The goods that I made use of, were as follows: Six strouds, four match-coats, six pair of stockings, two shirts, one ruffled shirt, 1,000 black wampum. The above goods were divided between the two deceased Chiefs' friends and relatives.

About noon the same day I delivered the Governor's message to them, in the following manner:

"Brethren, the Six United Nations, Shawnese and Delawares: I am sent up to you from the Governor of

Pennsylvania, and what I am going to say to you, you must take as his own words. I, therefore, desire you will give ear to what I am going to say." Gave a string.

"Brethren: The Governor sent me expressly to acknowledge and thank you for your message by Mr. Croghan, and to bid you welcome to Aucquick, and shake hands with you in his behalf, and to inquire after your health and that of your families." Gave a string.

"Brethren: You have done right to put yourself under the protection of this Province. We shall make all necessary provisions for you till the Government shall come to some determination respecting the present situation of affairs.

"Brethren: Our present Governor's administration, agreeably to what has been some time ago fixed by himself, draws to a period. A new Governor is appointed and soon expected. This renders it difficult for us to know what to do. The Governor, who is your hearty friend, desires you will be quiet and remain where you are till the new Governor comes over; and he will doubtless bring the King's order to us all, as concerning the expedition of the French and invasion on your lands. Make yourselves quiet and easy, and mind nothing but Council affairs till you see us first stir. Perhaps the new Governor may be now in Pennsylvania, then you will certainly hear what we will do against the French on the Ohio." Gave a belt.

"Brethren: By my desiring you to stay here till the new Governor comes in, I don't mean that your young men shall not run to Ohio now and then to inquire of our friends, the Indians, there how they do,

which we rather desire you will encourage, so that we may have news from our friends on the Ohio now and then, and also of the proceedings of the French." Gave a string.

Here ended the present meeting. Soon after the Shawnese and Delawares, together with Tunacharisson and Scarroyady, came into Mr. Croghan's house, and the Beaver, a noted man of the Delawares, spoke to me to the following purport:

"Brother, the Governor of Pennsylvania: You were pleased some time ago by this string of wampum (he showing the string) at the Treaty held in Lancaster, to clear up the road again to our town from yours, in order to renew the old friendly correspondence with us, and you removed all obstacles that from time to time had obstructed the same. You desired us that the string of wampum might be carried to Nowchikano and Kachhawatchiky, our Chiefs, which was done accordingly; and our said Chiefs and all our people agree to it very gladly, and desired us to let you know that we on our side did the same on our end of the road, and have removed everything that from time to time obstructed the same, and now came the said road to you; and we assure you that it is clear on our side, and we will always keep it so, and nothing shall from henceforth obstruct it; in confirmation whereof we give you this string of wampum." The speaker then took a belt of wampum in his hand and said:

"Brother, the Governor of Pennsylvania: At the same time, by this belt of wampum (he showing the belt), you assured us that you were our hearty friend, and nothing remained in your heart but good will and

good wishes to us. You also desired us to keep fast hold to this belt and be true and hearty, and believe no flying stories, but advise with you on every occasion. This, your belt, was carried to Nowchickano and Kachkawatchiky, and was gladly received; and we have it in charge, to thank you for your kindness and to put you in mind of it by this opportunity. We assure you that we have hitherto always followed your advice and held fast to this belt with all our strength, and we will do so for the future, and will charge our children and their children to follow our example and keep up a good understanding with you always, and we hope you will always look upon us as your good and true brethren. We earnestly desire it of you, because we know that our lives, the lives of our wives and children and those yet unborn, depend upon it." Gave a belt.

NOTE.—The string and belt that the speaker first took up are those that were given them by the Commissioners of this Province, at Lancaster, in the year 1748, and those that he now gave, are in exchange for them.

Here ended the Shawnese speech. Then the Beaver, the speaker of the Delawares, stood up and directed his discourse to the Six Nations, and said:

"Uncle: I still remember the time when you first conquered us and made women of us, and told us that you took us under your protection, and that we must not meddle with wars, but stay in the house and mind Council affairs. We have hitherto followed your directions and lived very easy under your protection, and no high wind did blow to make us uneasy. But now things seem to take another turn, and a high wind is rising. We desire you, therefore, Uncle, to have your

eyes open and be watchful over us, your cousins, as you have always been heretofore." Gave several strings of wampum.

Then the same speaker directed his discourse to the Governor of Pennsylvania, and said:

"Brother, the Governor of Pennsylvania: By your speech just now made to us, you comforted our hearts and you removed all doubts and jealousy. It is, what you said to us, like the morning sun. We now see clear your kindness and good will to us and our allies. We will make it known to all. We are extremely pleased to hear you speak so sincerely and so agreeably to us. We thank you kindly for your good will." Gave a string.

"Brother, the Governor of Pennsylvania: I must now go into the depth, and put you in mind of old histories and our first acquaintance with you, when William Penn first appeared in his ship on our lands. We looked in his face and judged him to be our brother, and gave him a fast hold to tie his ship to; and we told him that a powerful people called the Five United Nations had placed us here and established a fair and lasting friendship with us, and that he, the said William Penn, and his people shall be welcome to be one of us, and in the same union, to which he and his people agreed; and we then erected an everlasting friendship with William Penn and his people, which we on our side as well as you have observed as much as possible to this day. We always looked upon you to be one flesh and body with us. We desire you will look upon us in the same light, and let that Treaty of friendship made by our forefathers on both sides subsist and be in force

from generation to generation. Both our lives, our wives' and children's lives, and those as yet unborn, depend upon it. Pray, brother, consider well what we say, and let it be so." A large belt.

By a little string of wampum, of black and white, they desired the Government of Pennsylvania would take no notice of anything that will be said to the contrary, but believe that what they had said now, to be the truth from their hearts.

Sept. 5. In the morning I answered the Shawnese's and the Delawares' first speech, in the following manner:

"Brethren, the Shawnese: When you first came to Aucquick, you made a speech to Mr. Croghan, directed to the Government of Pennsylvania, by which you put the Governor in mind of what was said to you at the Treaty in Carlisle last fall, to wit, that you were desired to be quiet and still, and not meddle with anything concerning the present noise of the war, but only Council affairs, to strengthen yourselves in the best manner you could by keeping a good correspondence with your allies; and you said you had complied with that advice, and had renewed friendship with your Indian allies, lest the Governor of Pennsylvania might think you were in the French interest, because you were not engaged with the English in the action against the French that happened some time ago near the Ohio. You assured the Governor of Pennsylvania that you were, notwithstanding, a friend and brother to the English, as we have always been, and that you acted according to their advice. This is the substance of what you said. I have it in charge from the Governor of Pennsylvania to let

you know that he approves of your proceedings, and desires you will always act agreeably to his advice in everything, and in so doing you will do well." Gave a string.

"Brethren, the Delawares: You have told us and put us in mind of the old Treaties of friendship subsisting between us, and that you were one people with us, and that you, therefore, recommend the speech made to us by your grand-children, the Shawnese, to be the truth and a word that came from their heart, so that we may believe them, which you earnestly desired by a string of wampum as a letter of recommendation from you, our old friends.

"Brethren, the Delawares: It is true you are one people with us, for you spring out of the same spot of ground with us, and are, therefore, our countrymen and older inhabitants than we are. As to your present habitation on the Ohio, we look upon as your hunting cabin only, for here is your mother country, and we look upon you as ourselves. We, therefore, take the recommendation well, and are glad that you and your grand-children, the Shawnese, are of one mind. We believe that what they said came from the bottom of their hearts, and there remains no doubt with us. We thank you both for your kind speeches." Gave a string.

Then I took up the big belt the Delawares gave me yesterday, and said:

"Brethren: By this belt you were pleased to put the Governor of Pennsylvania in mind of the first Treaties of friendship and acquaintance with the people of Pennsylvania when the great William Penn first arrived on your land, and you repeated over what then passed be-

tween your forefathers and the said William Penn and his people. I must tell you, brethren, that is too weighty a matter for me to give you an answer upon it, or to exchange the belt. I will, therefore, take it with me to Philadelphia and lay it before the Governor, and he will lay it before his Council and all the old and wise people of Pennsylvania. They only are able to consider this and make a suitable answer. I am too mean a man, and no way empowered nor capable to answer it, but can only say that I am very well pleased with what you said, and am glad to carry this belt to Philadelphia."

The Indians in general, as well as those of the Six Nations, as Delawares and Shawnese, appeared to be extremely pleased with what I told them, and gave their approbation in the usual sound.

Then Tanacharisson stood up and thanked the Delawares for their kind speech made yesterday to the Six Nations by their strings of wampum, and said that their speech would be sent to the Six Nations by a special messenger, where it ought to be.

A Shawnese, named Danaluqueshon, in open Council signified his great satisfaction in this meeting, and said that this was a comfortable day to him and his people.

On the same day Tanacharisson and Scarroyady came to consult with me, and advised to join with them, to desire the Shawnese and Delawares to stay here at Aucquick for some time longer, or at least so long till the new Governor was come in, to which I agreed in behalf of this Government, and I found the string of wampum, and Scarroyady made the speech, accordingly, to the Shawnese and Delawares this evening.

Sept. 6. This day, at their own request, I informed them of what passed in Albany at the last Treaty, and of the purchase of the land that was made there. They seemed not to be very well pleased at first when they heard of it, because of such a large tract that the Six Nations had released to the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania; but when they were informed of the New England people's design and the French taking the Ohio lands in possession, which they might look upon as lost to them, they were content, but would have been more so if they had received a part of the consideration.

This evening I let them know that as now all public business was over, I would set off to-morrow morning. They, to wit, Tanacharisson and Scarroyady, desired me to stay longer with them, to discourse over some private affairs, as they had hitherto no time, to which I consented, but they got liquor that evening and all got drunk. However, I stayed, and in the afternoon Tanacharisoon and Scarroyady got sober, and I learned from them in a private discourse, first, that the Senecas from time to time had sent messages by belts and strings of wampum to the Indians on the Ohio, to order them not to meddle with the French, neither in one way nor the other, but stand neutral and keep their ears and eyes towards the Six United Nations.

Secondly. That the Twightwees had sent several of their head men this summer to the lower Shawnese town with a message, the purport whereof was as follows:

"Brethren, the Shawnese: You know that the French have invaded our country on all sides. Why do you sit so still? Why will you be slaves to the French, and suffer them to be masters of all the land and all the

game? Rise up and take the hatchet and follow our example. We have killed not long ago fifty Frenchmen, all warriors; and in one day five other Nations have joined us; and if you and your grand-fathers, the Delawares, will but stir, the French will soon be forced to fly."

This article is confirmed by Moses, otherwise called the Song, Mohawk Indian, who was present at the delivery of the message. To which the Shawnese made answer:

"Brethren, the Twightwees: We are surprised at your request. The Six United Nations have desired us to sit still and not mind the French, and that we must keep our ears and eyes to the Six United Nations, so do our grand-fathers, the Delawares. We desire you will spare us, and leave our town before the French hear of you and come and kill you here, and plunge us into the war before the Six United Nations begin it."

The Twightwees, accordingly, went home in disgust, and Tanacharisson and Scarroyady are out of humor with the Shawnese for not consulting them about an answer to the Twightwees.

The following article I was charged to keep to myself, to wit:

Thirdly. That they, to wit, Tanacharisson and Scarroyady, were creditably informed that the Mohawks, Oneidas and Tuscaroras would assist the English against the French as soon as the English gave proof of their being in earnest.

Fourthly. Scarroyady is going to Oneida soon (it is his native country), to inform himself of the minds of the Six United Nations, and to use his endeavors to

bring them to side with the English against the French.

Fifthly. I found that the Shawnese and Delawares are very strictly united together, and that the French made them large presents, desiring them to stand their friends or be neutral. They, the Shawnese and Delawares, made them no answer at all, but sent these men, about twelve in number, to see their brethren, the English (and I suppose to learn what they are about), and to renew their friendship with them.

The names of the Indians' that were present in all the meetings I had with them are as follows:

Tanacharisson, Seneca Chief,
Scarroyady, Oneida Chief,
Tokaswayeston, Seneca Chief,
Seneca George, Chief,
Captain William, Seneca,
Kanachjakanyjady, Seneca,
Sakojaduntha, Cayuga,
Moses Contjochqua, Mohawk,
Aquogioda, Mohawk,

Delawares.

The Beaver,
Delaware George,
Dishickamy,
Hickyjusku,
Williamm Anderson,
Delaware Jack,
John Moore,
And several others.

Shawnese.

Lapechkewe, the young King,
Donylequeshoney,
Wapatykeety, speaker,
Kanjuchha (alias Penn),
The Runner,
Catousima, Cachkawatchiky's grand-child, and several others.

The white people that were present for the most were, besides myself and my son,

Andrew Montour, Interpreter to the Delawares,
George Croghan,

Peter Sheffer,
Hugh Crawford,
Thomas Simpson,
John Owen.

On the 8th, about ten o'clock, I left Aucquick, and came by way of James Dunning's and Carlisle, and arrived at my house in Heidelberg on September 12, 1754.

CONRAD WEISER.

NO. XI.

Journal of Proceedings to John Harris' Ferry.

Jan. 29, 1756. Set out from my house with a hired man. Arrived at Harris' Ferry on the 30th, being rainy weather. Met the Indians that evening. Acquainted them that I was sent by the Governor of Pennsylvania with a message to them. Next morning was appointed for me to deliver it, Aroas being not at home.

Jan. 31. Early in the morning we met in the belt's cabin. There were present the belt, Garisdooney, Jagrea, Newcastle. They desired me to repeat to them the speech the Governor made to them in Carlisle a few days ago, laying before me the two belts they received there from the Governor. I made answer that I could not depend upon my memory, and that I had no copies of those papers relating to it. They must excuse me till another opportunity. However, the principal heads they remembered. A messenger was immediately sent for Aroas, who arrived in a few hours after. I then delivered the message from the Governor, with the addition that I could not leave the place before I saw two

of them set off. It was immediately agreed that Aroas (by us called Silver Heels) and David, a Mohawk Indian, should prepare for the journey to Neskopecka, &c. Accordingly on the 2d of February, they set off in the morning, being rainy weather. They desired me to send John Davies and Thomas Grimes along with them over Peters' Hill to Robert Armstrong's place, the last settlement now, to conduct them safe, which I did. I also sent a string of wampum, all white, to Jonathan, John Shekallamy, and his brothers, to invite them to come to my house, if they could be found. Gave a written pass to Aroas and David, and ordered them to carry a silk handkerchief upon a stick on their return, and that only two should come before and keep the path. The old belt gave them a long lesson. They all looked very serious. Aroas said he would be back in ten days or in fifteen at the furthest; if not, then we might think he was dead. So far as to the message.

On the 31st of last month one James Young came over from Tobias Hendrick's and told me privately, in the presence of John Harris, that above fifteen men with arms came that day to Tobias Hendrick's, in order to come to this side of the river to kill the Indians at John Harris'. Judging them of being guilty or privy to the murder committed a few days ago in Sherman's Valley, and that he had much ado to stop them, he desired me to take all the care I possibly could. I thereupon sent a letter with said Young expressly to the Magistrates and the principal inhabitants in Carlisle, to desire them to caution the people of Cumberland against such imprudent behavior, of which nothing but a general war with all the Indians could be the issue. A copy of

their answer is hereunto annexed. I took for granted what they said, and sent immediately another express by James English and Jagrea (now called Satacaroyies) to bring the Indians that remained in Carlisle since the last Treaty, away to John Harris' Ferry, there to remain with the rest till the Governor's order should be known. I wrote to those gentlemen to hire a wagon for the Indians, if needful.

I thought it not prudent to inform the Indians of this affair; but several people that came from over the river, knew of it and the Indians came to hear of it. I had a good deal of trouble to quiet their minds. Satacaroyies and Newcastle went to Michael Taef's that night and Newcastle got in the night light-headed; he looked upon every person as an enemy, and would persuade Satacaroyies to run away with him. He himself made off privately next morning, and had not been heard of when I left John Harris', which was on the 2d instant, in the afternoon. Michael Taef and Satacaroyies declared before me that he had no liquor, and I am persuaded Satacaroyies would not have come back so sober in the morning as he did, if they had had any liquor. I sent word all about to the people to take care of the said Newcastle, if he should be seen anywhere. He had no arms with him.

I think it highly necessary that the said Indians should be taken care of deeper within the inhabitants; for should they suffer by our foolish people, we should lose all confidence and honor with the rest of the Indians. Submitted to his Honor, the Governor, his Council, and the Assembly, by their faithful Indian Interpreter, CONRAD WEISER.

Heidelberg, Feb. 4, 1756.

NO. XII.

Extract from a Journal at Easton.

November 5, 1756.

This afternoon Mr. Horsfield from Bethlehem came to Easton and informed Major Parsons and myself that the night before an Indian went privately from Easton to Bethlehem and informed Augustus, Joshua and another Indian there, that there were about 40 Indians at and about Fort Allen; that at Trout Creek there were about 100 men, and their number increasing, who were of the Minisink tribe, and averse to a peace with the English. These had laid a design to come and attack Easton, while the Governor was there, and destroy both the white people and Teedyuscung with his party; but that they had now laid that design aside and wait to see the end of the Treaty, and then they would come down in a body to attack and destroy Bethlehem, which would make them masters of the whole country. That they would be very careful to pass the Forts and the inhabitants without doing harm to any, lest they should alarm the people, who would fly to Bethlehem for shelter and so strengthen that place.

Upon this news I sent an express to Lieut. Engell at Fort Franklin to come with a detachment of 20 men, including a Sergeant, with all possible speed to re-enforce the town guard during the time his Honor, the Governor, should stay in Easton. The express went away at about 7 in the evening.

I informed the Six Nation Indians, that were in town, of the news that Mr. Horsfield brought, in private conversation, and desired them to be open and

honest, according to what the Six Nations always were, their friends. They told me that two of their Indians would be here to-night. They had sent them to Fort Allen two days ago. Accordingly these Indians, with two more of the same tribe, came to town a little after dark. A white man, a soldier, escorted them. They came in a body to my lodging, and desired to have a conference with me. I made them welcome and signified to them that I should be glad to hear what good news they brought from Fort Allen and from over the mountain. One of them, to wit, son-in-law to French Margaret, took a string of wampum, which one of the others gave to him, and spoke to the following purport:

"Brother: As to what you informed us this day about the Minisink Indians, we now assure you that it is but the singing of ugly birds, that naturally will raise their voices in the night, and there is no substance in it. We, therefore, desire you to take no notice of it. You remember what you told and advised us when you first came to this town, to wit, not to listen to such birds that usually let their voices be heard in the night. We assure you we took your advice in good part, so we desire you will take ours. We that are of the Six Nations are one flesh and blood with the English, and will die with them." Gave the string of wampum.

Then John Cooke came to me and gave me the names of the Six Nation Indians who are now in town, to wit: Rasyianuntha, Rayenlisery, Tanachdagan, Cayincker, Nahochreany and John Cooke, Mohawks, and two Shawnese, to wit, Pileason and Passechgnon, sons of Chinunfuhonly.

As we had assured the Indians that the Governor

would be here to-day, he thought it necessary to acquaint them why he did not come, and told them that the same bad news that we had by Mr. Horsfield yesterday, had been carried to the Governor by some person from these parts, which he believed might be true, which occasioned him to stop; and his Council being with him, they would not suffer him to proceed until he heard from us. Now, brethren, I am going to write to the Governor and desire your advice what we shall say to him. The Indians, after some consideration, answered that they desired that their brother, the Governor, should be informed that they came a great way and from time to time were advised not to come, for that they would be cut off when they come to Pennsylvania; but, notwithstanding, they came along and did not believe those stories, and they desire their brother, the brother, will not believe these reports; they would assure him there is no truth in them, and they will live and die with him. And as he encouraged them not to believe the reports against the English, so they hoped he would not believe those reports against the Indians.

CONRAD WEISER.

NO. XIII.

Journal of Proceedings at Fort Allen.

Nov. 18, 1756. After I got all the Indians out of town with much trouble, I left the town about four o'clock in the afternoon, accompanied by the officers of the escort and Deedjoskon, Pompshire, Moses Deedamy, and two more Indians, on horseback. We reached

Bethlehem after dark, and after the soldiers and Indians were quartered at the public inn, this side of the creek, I gave Deedjoskon the slip in the dark, and he went along with the rest to the said inn. I stayed at Mr. Horsfield's, having acquainted the officers with my design, and gave the necessary order beforehand.

Nov. 19. The soldiers and Indians arose early and got ready to march. Deedjoskon could not get his wife away. She wanted to stay in Bethlehem, because of his debauched way of living. He took all the children but one from her. At the brethren's request I interceded, and prevailed to go with her husband. We left Bethlehem by ten o'clock; dined at one Hesse's (the Indians and soldiers) upon cold beef and cider, Deedjoskon and four or five more with me. The Indians' account came to fifteen shillings and three pence, which I left unpaid. The landlord had other accounts of the same nature against the Province. We arrived that night at one Nicholas Opplinger's.

Nov. 20. After I had settled with the landlord, the Indians' account, which amounted to £1, 10s., 11d., chiefly for cider, left it unpaid, this being the last place where they could get it; we set off and arrived at Fort Allen by ten o'clock. Deedjoskon was very troublesome for drink, to treat the Indians that came to see him—I mean the Minisink Indians that had stayed about five miles beyond Fort Allen. They seemed to be very friendly; but, notwithstanding, they appeared to be guilty of a great deal of mischief. Some of them could not look into my face. I found several among them that knew me. I committed thirty of them. They were well used, and took very gladly share of the present

which Deedjoskon divided, and made a beginning this day.

Nov. 21. The dividing of the goods was finished. The Minisink Indians wanted to set off. They said that they have been too long away from their wives and children, and left nobody to hunt for them. I did all that I could to keep them, and got Captain Arndt to furnish them with some flour. Deedjoskon shared the rum with them that was left in the ten gallon cask, which was ordered them by the Commissioners to drink beyond Fort Allen, but there were only about five gallons left. Deedjoskon, on the way, was very troublesome. He would treat the Indians, and I was by no means capable of dissuading him from it. So, after the Minisink Indians had their share, he would have a frolic with his company, till at last I gave the cask and all what was in, which was about three gallons, with the proviso that he must not come into the Fort that night, nor any of his Indians; if they did, they must take what follows. If they should attempt to get into the Fort, to which he agreed, and away he went with the cask. I ordered a soldier to carry it down to their fire. About midnight he came back and desired to be let in, and it was found that he was alone. Orders were given to let him in, because his wife and children were in the Fort. He behaved well. After a while we were alarmed by one of the drunken Indians that offered to climb over the stoccadoes. I got on the platform and looked out of the port hole, and saw the Indian, and told him to be gone, else the sentry should fire upon him. He ran off as fast as he could, and cried, "D—n you all; I value you not." But he got out of sight immediately, and we heard no more of him.

Tokayiendisery was very sick when we left Easton. We brought him along in the wagon. I desired Mr. Otto, the doctor in Bethlehem, to come and see him. The doctor believed he would get the small-pox, and advised him to stay, but we could not prevail on him. When we came to Fort Allen he was most gone, but would not stay. His companions begged of me to get a horse for him to ride on, and they would return it in the spring. I could not refuse them any longer, they having requested three or four times. I bought a horse, saddle and bridle for him, for five pounds, and paid for it in the presence of Captain Arndt. After all, the sick man could not ride on horseback, so the Indians made a litter for four Indians to carry their luggage, but I believe he will never see his own country again.

A certain Indian, called Armstrong, had a rifle gun taken or stolen from him in Easton—it is supposed by one of the prisoners to whom it first belonged. Vernon, the inn-keeper, promised him to make inquiry for it, and bring it after him. This was just at our leaving Easton, in my presence. Accordingly, Mr. Vernon came after us and overtook us at Hess', but brought no gun, and nothing was said of it to my knowledge. But when we came to Fort Allen, this Indian demanded a rifle gun of me, and said that Vernon told him that I had it in charge from the Governor to find it for him. I denied it utterly, and told him absolutely that it was false. However, I offered him one of the Provincial spare guns, but he did not like it, and gave it back. So as to make everything easy, I bought a German gun of one of the soldiers for thirty five shillings and gave it to the Indian, which satisfied him, and I paid for the gun.

Nov. 22. After I had a very particular discourse with some of the heads of them, and put them in mind of what they had promised in the Treaty, and what would be their duty now, we parted, I being satisfied in my mind that these people were in good earnest, and very heartily in the affair, in order to bring over as many of the enemy Indians as they possibly can. John Cook undertook to deliver the message to his grandmother and Poxonosa, and received the present for them, to wit, ten pieces of eight for each. Deedjoskon, quite sober, parted with me with tears in his eyes, recommended Pompshire to the Government of Pennsylvania, and desired me stand a friend to the Indians, and give good advice, till everything that was desired was brought about. Though he is a drunkard and a very irregular man, yet he is a man that can think well, and I believe him to be sincere in what he said.

I took my leave of them, and they of me very candidly. Captain Arndt sent an escort with me of twenty men to Fort Franklin, where we arrived at three o'clock in the afternoon, it being about fourteen miles distant from Fort Allen. I saw that the Fort was not tenable, and the house not finished for the soldiers, and that it could not be of any service to the inhabited part, there being a great mountain between them. I ordered Lieutenant Engel to evacuate it, and come to the south side of the hills himself with nineteen men, at John Eberet's, Esq., and the rest being sixteen men more, at John Eckenroad's, both places being about three miles distant from each other, and both in the township of Lynn, Northampton county, until otherwise ordered.

Nov. 23. Left Fort Franklin. The Lieutenant, with ten men, escorted me as far as Probst's, about eight miles, where I discharged him, and arrived at Reading that evening.

CONRAD WEISER.

November 24, 1756.

MEMORANDA.

NO. I.

Conrad Weiser's Colonel Commission.

By the Honorable William Denny, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Province of Pennsylvania, and counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex in Delaware.

Whereas, Brigadier General Stanwix has represensented to me, that his Majesty's service is in immediate want of a number of wagons and horses for the transportation of provisions, and other necessaries for the army under his command, and that he has contracted with Conrad Weiser, Esq., of the county of Berks, to supply the quota assigned to be raised, within the said county of Berks; to grant unto the said Conrad Weiser impress warrants, in case he shall at any time be obliged to apply to the said justices for the same. These are, therefore, in his Majesty's name, and in pursuance of the Act of Assembly, to require you to issue your warrants to the constables within your respestive districts, for the impressing of as many wagons as shall at any time be demanded by the said Conrad Weiser, or his deputies, in order to enable him and them to carry on the King's service according to his contract. Hereof fail not, as you will answer to the contrary at your peril.

Given under my hand and seal at arms, at Philadelphia, the ninth day of June, Anno Domini 1759, in the sixty-second year of his Majesty's reign.

To the Justices of Peace for the county of Berks.

WILLIAM DENNY.

NO. II.

Deposition of C. Weiser and T. McKee Respecting Conference at Easton.

On the 6th day of August, 1757, appeared before William Denny, Esq., Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, &c., Conrad Weiser, Esq., and Thomas McKee, merchant, and respectively made oath on the holy Evangelists, that being employed as Indian Interpreters in the present Treaty, they attended as such at the public Conference held at Easton by the Governor of Pennsylvania with Teedyuscung, the Delaware Chief, and the Indians, on the morning of the third day of this instant, August; that the Governor made a speech to the Indians, in answer to one delivered by them on the first day of this instant; that as soon as the Governor was done speaking, Teedyuscung, by his Interpreter, John Pompshire, acquainted the Governor that he did not understand his speech, and then sat down again; that Teedyuscung appeared to be much dissatisfied, and whilst the Governor and Mr. Croghan, Sir William Johnston's Deputy Agent, were endeavoring to find out whence the dissatisfaction arose, there was some discourse and murmur among the Chiefs of the Delawares; this deponent, Conrad Weiser, says, that observing this uneasiness among the Delaware Chiefs, he not understanding their language, asked one of the Six Nations who sat near him and understood Delaware, to tell him what was said by the Indians, who, he observed, were in Council together; and the Six Nation Indian in answer said, they were angry with Teedyuscung for dwelling so long upon the land affair; that the Delaware Indian, Lapachpeton, whom this de-

ponent knows to be of great reputation among the Indians, interrupted Teedyuscung whilst he was speaking to the Governor, and in an angry way asked him, Why did you bring us down? We thought we came down to make peace with our brethren, the English, but you continue to quarrel about the land affair, which is dirt, a dispute we did not hear of till now. I desire you to enter upon the business we came down for, which is for peace. And further said, that thereupon all or most of the Indians gave sounds of approbation. This deponent, Conrad Weiser, further says, that he instantly wrote down these words as they were spoken to him by the said Six Nation Indian, and gave the writing to the Governor, just as Teedyuscung took the two belts and was beginning to speak to the Governor. This deponent, Thomas McKee, says, that he heard and well understood what was said by Lapachpeton and the other Delaware Indians; and that it was the same in substance as is above set forth to be related to Conrad Weiser by the Six Nation Indian, and that as soon as the sounds of approbation, in which almost all the Indians joined, were uttered, Teedyuscung called for the peace belts, and, holding them in his hands, made such a speech as is entered in Mr. Croghan's minutes of the third of August. This deponent, Thomas McKee, further says, that he repeated to Mr. Jacob Duche, asssistant clerk to Mr. Trent, the same words in substance as are set down as spoken by Lapachpeton, the instant he was done speaking, and that they are strictly true to the best of his knowledge and belief.

CONRAD WEISER,
THOMAS McKEE.

Sworn before me, August 6, 1757,
WILLIAM DENNY.

NO. III.

Extract from Conrad Weiser's Journal to Ohio, August, 1748.

Set out from my house and came to James Galbreath that day,	30 miles.
Came to Geoge Croghan's	15 "
To Robert Duning's,	20 "
To the Tuscarora Path,	30 "
To the Black Log,	20 "
To the Standing Stone,	26 "
To Frank's Town,	38 "
Fo the Clear Fields,	16 "
To the Shawnese Cabins,	34 "
To the Ten Mile Lick,	32 "
To Ohio,	26 "

—

Extract of Conrad Weiser's Journal to Ohio, 1748.

Aug.	
18—From the Black Log to within 2 miles of the Standing Run,	24 miles.
19—Travelled 12 miles this day,	12 "
20—Came to Frank's Town,	26 "
22—Crossed Allegheny Hill and came to the Clear Fields,	16 "
23—Came to the Shawnese Cabins,	34 "
24—Came to the Ten Mile Lick,	32 "
25—Crossed Kisky Monitas Creek and came to Ohio,	26 "
	170 "

NO. IV.

Memorandum of Wampum, 1748.

Memorandum of the Wampum I left at the Secretary's office, Oct. 21, 1748.

Were given by the Indians on account of Carolina affair. See my Journal.

	Grains.
A large Black Belt,	2000
A String, Black and White,	256
Ditto, Black and White,	600

Were given by the Indians to the President and the Council of Pennsylvania.

A String of White,	150
A Belt of White and few Black,	900
A String of White,	300
A String of White,	185
Another String of White Wampum,	212

I can give an account of ten thousand grains of white and black Wampum, I used at the treaty on the Ohio. Some of the belts the Indians will return or answer with some of theirs. Some hundreds I brought back, not included in the above, but will return them by the first opportunity to the Secretary.

CONRAD WEISER, Interpreter.

NO. V.

Memorandum of Transactions with Indians at Reading, 1757.

April 5. Then an Indian named Nathaniel, formerly a Moravian, arrived in Reading with a message from Mr. Croghan to Teedyuscung, at or on his way to Easton, in order to invite him to come to the Indians that were then arrived at John Harris' Ferry, and attend at the ensuing Treaty, (as Nathaniel told me.) I gave him his dinner, some pocket money, and a guide to Bethlehem.

28. Capt. Wm. Trent arrived with three Mohawk Indians, to wit: Jonathan, Cayenguilyquo and his wife, and David Anruchregechle, on their way to Bethlehem or Easton, to meet Teedyuscung, and the rest of the Indians with him, to invite them to Lancaster. The Indians told me that "they were sent by Mr. Croghan to Reading for the purpose before mentioned, and that they were told Teedyuscung was there." I told the Indians in the presence of Capt. Trent what was first said. The Indians desired me to ask him, who said it was to Bethlehem. Then it was found to be a fault of the Interpreter. I condoled with Jonathan for the loss of his son, who died in Philadelphia, gave him a string of whole wampum and his wife a large silk cloth, which he took kindly. I told the Indians that I had received orders from the Governor of Pennsylvania to go to Lancaster and take his brethren, the Indians, that came down the river Susquehanna, by the hand and bid them welcome to Pennsylvania in his name; and that I intended to have set off to-morrow morning, if they had not come, (I did not know as yet what they had to say to me.)

Jonathan told me "that he was very glad I had such orders, and he did wonder that I had them no sooner." I told them that when I was last in Philadelphia, about a month ago, the Governor's Secretary told me that the Council thought it necessary I should go with the Governor's compliments to the Indians at Lancaster, and I then told the Secretary I could not go at these critical times without the Governor's written orders, which came to hand two nights ago. "We have now been (said Jonathan) two months in the country and not seen our brother, the Governor of Pennsylvania, as yet, nor heard hardly anything of him yet, though we have been sent for and invited to come down." I asked him very modestly, "who has sent for you?" He said, "why, don't you know?" I answered, "no." He seemed to be surprised at this. "Why," says he, "Lewis Montour and others came up to Diahogo and invited the Delawares and Six Nations of Indians to come down to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, to finish the Treaty of peace that was begun last summer; and we came as Deputies from the Mohawks, sent by Waruchyockon (Sir William Johnson), to be present at the Treaty, and so many are come from all the Six Nations (excepting the Senecas, who sent none); and we have been promised, since we came to Pennsylvania, large presents of money and goods by Mr. C——n." I told him, "I am very glad you came with the approbation of Waruchyockon; he is a good and great man, and is trusted by the King of Great Britain with all the management of Indian affairs in North America. I wish you had all come to one place in Pennsylvania, and all together. Your coming to Lancaster, and Teedyuscung with his company,

as I hear, coming to Easton, two places so far distant from one another, one upon the river Susquehanna, the other on the river Delaware, will make the affair of the Treaty very difficult; besides, Teedyuscung is so far behind." Jonathan answered, "When we came by Diahogo, Teedyuscung was gone up that river, and we could not stay in such a hungry country as that now is. They have nothing to eat but walnuts and wild potatoes; and we heard that he would soon follow us and a great number of Indians with him, some from a true love of peace with their brethren, the English, and some for want of everything, especially victuals." Several things were discoursed of; among others, Jonathan asked me, "Is it true that you are become a fallen tree? That you must no more engage in Indian affairs, neither as a Councilor nor Interpreter? What is the reason thereof?" I told him it was true. "That the King of Great Britain had appointed Waruchyockon to be manager of all Indian affairs that concern Treaties of friendship, war, &c.; and that, accordingly, the great General that came over the great waters had, in the name of the King, ordered the Government of Pennsylvania to desist from holding Treaties with the Indians, and the Government of Pennsylvania will obey the King's command, and consequently I, as the Government's servant, have nothing more to do with Indian affairs." "Ha! Ha!" were both their voices at once, as much as if they had said, oh, sad! After they had both whispered together for a while (I gave them room to do it by going into another room), Jonathan told me: "But Olia (Comrade, the style we give one another), I heard you have engaged on another bottom. You are made a

Captain of warriors, and laid aside the Council affair and turned a soldier." I made answer, "Olia, what you say is true, but let me tell in what connection it is true. Hear, therefore. When Pennsylvania people feared nothing from the Indians, and good will and Treaties of friendship subsisted between them and our brethren, the Indians, the Delawares and Shawnese invaded our country all at once, in a barbarous and cruel manner, killed or led into captivity all who came before them. My country then called for my aid (before the Governor of Pennsylvania did), and I raised men to defend a part of the country, of which the Governor approved, and soon after a great Council was called in Philadelphia, at which I attended, and it was agreed that Scarroyady and Echnizera should go up to the Indian country, to learn the cause of this murder and breach of friendship, and become mediators. How they have been received, you have been an eye-witness. You know their lives were threatened. When, after a fatiguing journey, they arrived in the Mohawk country and delivered the letters of the Governor of Pennsylvania to Sir William Johnson. That gentleman, then or before, had offered his mediation by the assistance of his neighbors and good friends, the Mohawks. Our two messengers stayed awhile in the Mohawk country and came to Philadelphia at last. You came with them, and several others of the Mohawks. You remember well what news you brought, and how the messages of the Six Nations had been answered by these, our old friends and new enemies, the Indians at Diahogo. The insolent answer those Indians made occasioned a proclamation of war. I remember, all the Indians then in Philadelphia had been first consulted, and

you gave your approbation, and you all were present when war was proclaimed. A great many stout hearted men then engaged and prepared to go to war against these Indians, and the Governor and Councilors of Pennsylvania opened the Council chest and took out money to pay for ammunition, and all that was necessary to carry on the war, to pay their soldiers. When soon after, all at once, letters came from the Governor of New York and Sir William Johnson to the Governor of Pennsylvania, by which we learned that Sir William Johnson, by his prudent management, and the assistance of the Mohawks, our good friends, had at last prevailed on these Indians to come to a cessation of arms. The Governor immediately issued his proclamation and ordered the soldiers, aud others, to be only upon the defensive, and not to go on any expedition or act offensively on the east side of the Susquehanna. The Governor then sent, immediately, messengers up the river Susquehanna, as far as Diahogo, to let the Indians know what was agreed upon by Sir William Johnson and the Chiefs, or some of the Chiefs of the Delawares. What further happened, you will soon hear. Now, in all these proceedings, Olia, I have assisted, and never laid aside civil affairs. I attended at the Treaties in Easton, last summer, as a Councilor in the affairs of the Treaty, and also with some of the soldiers under my command as a guard to the Governor of Pennsylvania, and the gentlemen Councilors, and others, who came with him, and to Teedyuscung and all the Indians with him, and conveyed them over the Blue Mountains to Fort Allen, with all their goods and provisions, and we parted as civil Councilors, and Teedyuscung recom-

mended the affair of peace, with tears in his eyes. So, Olia, don't charge me with such a thing as that. I take greater delight in war than in civil affairs. I am a man for peace, and if I had my wish, there should be no war at all, at least not on this side of the great waters." Jonathan made answer, "Olia, I thank you for this information and for refreshing my memory. I am entirely satisfied that what you said to be the truth, and am now able to report the thing in a clear light."

NO. VI.

Account of Expenses of Conrad Weiser to and from Fort Augusta, per Son Samuel.

	£		
To the hire of a horse, having none of my own, 11 days, at 1.6 per day,	£	16	6
To the hire of a man and horse to accompany me from Tulpehocken, 9 days, at 4 s. per day for man and horse,	1	15	00
To provisions I bought at Tolheo for my journey, and for three night's lodging, including oats and fodder for horses,	2	11	10
To 667 grains of Wampum, made up in two strings of several rows, made use of with the Indians at Fort Augusta, at 5 s. per hundred,	1	13	9
	£6	18	3

N. B.—In the above £2 11 00 is included 15, which I gave to John Petty, he complaining of his wretched poverty.

And my own trouble is humbly submitted to his Honor, the Governor, by

Honored Sir,

Your most obedient,

Humble servant,

SAMUEL WEISER.

Philada., March 21, 1760.

NO. VII.

Memorandum of Conrad Weiser Respecting Indians, 1756.

Pro Memoria, to myself.

I can never agree that the Indians came to complain about their land, or some of it being fraudulently got from them, but they were pressed for reasons why they struck us, and gave that as one of their reasons, but I am satisfied that it was put into their mouth some time before. Witness Sauer's news after the Treaty in July in Easton, upon that head we want no Treaty, without they, the Indians, require it. We want no mediator between the Proprietors and the Indians about land affairs between us and the Delawares, before the Proprietors' pleasure is known and the Six Nations consulted.

I should be glad if the Indians on Ohio could be spoken to. Let them be brought (by means of Sir Wm. Johnson) to us or to the Mohawk country, or join our invitation with his, if he pleases.

NO. VIII.

CONRAD WEISER'S MEMORANDUM OF CONFERENCE AT EASTON, 1757.

July 14, 1757.

King Teedyuscung being met in Council, with John Pompshare and Moses Tedeemy, Interpreters, and seven or eight elderly men.

After Conrad Weiser had bade Teedyuscung and his people welcome in the name of the Governor, and shaken hands with him, King Teedyuscung took out a belt of wampum and thanked the Governor for his kindness, and all his people, as well as himself, signified a great deal of satisfaction to hear from the Governor. And the king said: It pleased the head of the Province to bring me once more to the place where our Council fire was kindled. It is a great pleasure to me to hear from my brother, the Governor, and I hope I shall see him soon here at our Council fire, where we will smoke the best Tobacco with one another that can be found, and the best understanding restored that ever was. By this belt of wampum I take you by the hand and lead you up to our Council fire, and desire you will not listen to the singing of birds in the woods. But come with pleasure, and be as expeditious this time as ever you can. Gave the belt.

Mr. Pompshare, in delivering the belt, observed to me that there was a great deal of black wampum in the belt. It was to distinguish the ten white spots, signifying ten Nations that came with Teedyuscung, and desired I might explain it so to his Honor, the Governor.

CONRAD WEISER.

NO. IX.

MEMORANDUM OF CONRAD WEISER, JUNE 13, 1748.

Last night arrived at my house Ganataraykon, Sogogockiather, Achnoara, Kattake and Sanagaranet, sent by Shekallamy to inform me of a message from the Six Nations to the following purport:

"Brethren and Cousins, you that live on the Susquehanna river and elsewhere: We let you know that our brethren, the English, have sent a message to us to inform us, that the French had come to live on this side of the Lake, and threaten destruction to the Six Nations as well as to the English, and that, therefore, it was requisite our Nation, in concert with the others, should take up the English hatchet and exert themselves against the French. To encourage us, therefore, they gave a large belt of wampum, made in the shape of a hatchet, and told us further, that the English cried out for help, having suffered much by the French. So far the English message. While the Indians were in Council to think on an answer, the English messengers were very kind, and made presents of hatchets and other things to the women and children."

The Council of Cayuga made answer: "Brethren, the English: We are surprised at what you say. How is it possible that you could be beaten before you fought? You hitherto sat still and did nothing but use all the arts possible to bring us into the war, and then, no doubt, you would be easy enough; but we must once more return your hatchet to you, and desire you to fight like men. You are very numerous, and in case we should see that the French would be too many for you, we will

assist you ; but never before you fight like men." The Indians returned the belt, upon which the messenger said that he must acquaint them, that their brethren, the English, would in the future look upon the Indians to be their enemies and in the French interest, and the English would use them accordingly. Upon which the Indians answered, Yo, do so. After some pause the English messenger offered the Indians a dram, and gave them a large cask ; but the Indians would not taste it and returned it, and said : "Brethren, we have drunk too much of your rum already, which has occasioned our destruction ; we will, therefore, for the future beware of it." The Indians also ordered the women and children to return everything they had received as presents from the said messenger, which was accordingly done.

The remainder of the Indian message is as follows : 'Brethren and Cousins, that live on the Susquehanna river : We send you this string of wampum, and desire you to have your ears open and be on your guard ; we also desire you will with all speed carry this our message from town to town, until it arrives at Schohonyady."

This was accordingly done—the said message came to Shamokin on the 9th instant, and the Indians met in Shekallamy's house. It was delivered by a Delaware Indian that lives on Wayamuck or Seahantowany. The Indians at Shamokin dispatched it immediately to Schohonyady aforesaid, though the sun was just down.

Shekallamy is sick and likely to loose his eyesight, but he said in Council that either the Indian or English messengers must have falsified the message, for he could not believe it, and would, therefore, dispatch two of his sons with two other Indians to let Tarachowagon know

of it, who would soon inform the Indians of the truth of the matter. I made no other answer, but told the young people I was of their father's opinion entirely, and would immediately set out for Philadelphia, and it was no more than for the Council of Philadelphia to write to the Governor of New York to inquire whether the above message was his own or not, and the truth would soon come out. CONRAD WEISER.

ADDENDA.

INTRODUCTION.*

Peter Kalm, a Swedish natural philosopher and traveler, who was born at Ostro Bothnia in 1715, and traveled from 1748 to 1751 in North America, says:

"Though the Province of New York has been inhabited by Europeans much longer than Pennsylvania, yet it is not by far so populous as that colony. This cannot be ascribed to any particular discouragement arising from the nature of the soil, for that is pretty good; but, I am told of a very different reason, which I will mention here.

"In the reign of Queen Anne, about the year 1709, many Germans came hither, who got a tract of land from the English Government, which they might settle. After they had lived there some time, and had built houses, and made corn-fields and meadows, their liberties and privileges were infringed, and, under several pretences, they were repeatedly deprived of parts of their land. This at last aroused the Germans. They returned violence for violence, and beat those who thus robbed them of their possessions. But these proceedings

*The following Lists of Emigrants to New York and Pennsylvania are transferred from Prof. I. D. Rupp's "Collection of Thirty Thousand Names."

were looked upon in a very bad light by the Government. The most active people among the Germans being taken up, they were roughly treated, and punished with the utmost rigor of the law. This, however, so far exasperated the rest, that the greater part of them left their houses and fields, and went to settle in Pennsylvania. There they were exceedingly well received, got a considerable tract of land, and were indulged in great privileges, which were given them forever. The Germans, not satisfied with being themselves removed from New York, wrote to their relations and friends, and advised them, if ever they intended to come to America, not to go to New York, where the Government had shown itself so uneqitable. This advice had such influence that the Germans, who afterwards went in great numbers to North America, constantly avoided New York and always went to Pennsylvania.

"It sometimes happened that they were forced to go on board of such ships as were bound for New York, but they were scarce got on shore, when they hastened on to Pennsylvania, in sight of all the inhabitants of New York."

NO. I.

Names of Early Settlers of Berks & Montgomery Counties,

(*Originally Philadelphia County,*) *Who were naturalized January* 9, 1729, *to* 1730.

Peter Wentz,
Martin Kolb,
Dielman Kolb,
Jacob Kolb,
Michael Ziegler,
Paul Fried,
Hans Danweiler,
Valentine Hunsicker,
Jacob Schreiner,
Johannes Kooken,
Jacob Herman,
Gerhart Clemens,
Christian Zimmerman,
Jacob Metz,
Bastian Schmidt,
Martin Gmelin,
Ulrich Mayer,
Christian Bauman,
Abraham Schwaark,
Hermanus Kuster.

From Berks County.

Johann Joder,
Johann Joder, Jr.,
Philip Kielwein,
Jost Joder,
Hans Hoch,
Peter Endreas,
Johann Dietrich Kreiner,
Peter Balio,
Abraham Levan,
Isaac Levan,
Nicholas Lescher,
Johannes Dewalt End,
Johann Georg Bentzel,
Blasius Daniel Mackinet,
David Kauffman,
Jean Bartolett,
Hans Martin,
George Martin Schenckel,
Jonathan Herbein,
Johann Bauman,
Arnold Huffnagle,
Johannes Langenecker,
Johannes Buchwalter,
Johann Eckstein,
Isaac Vansintern,
George Raus,
George Jæger,
Samuel Guldin,

Mathias Adam Hogermœd,
Hans Rupp,
Lorentz Belitz,
Joh. Nicholas Kressman,
Christopher Funk,
Johann George Reif,
Johann Isaac Klein,
Peter Reif,
Johann Jacob Scharch,
Johann Joseph Scharch,
Antonius Halman,
Gerhard Peters,
Johannes Mayer,
Johannes Schaffer,
Jacob Seltzer,
Johannes Lefeber,
Christopher Guldin,
Heinrich Pannbecker,
Hans Siegfried,
Samuel Hoch,
Johann Schneider,
George Merkle,
Hubbert Cassell,
Peter Traler,
Heinrich Schaut,
Jacob Hottenstein,
Daniel Langenecker,
Hans Jacob Bechtel,
Melchior Hoch,
George Bechtel,
Jost Heinrich Sassamanhausen.

From Bucks County.

Jacob Klemmer,
Jacob Sauder,
Philip Geissinger,
George Bachman,
John Dreistel.

From Chester County.

Christian Mory,
Johannes Roth,
Casper Acker,
Jacob Acker.

From the City of Philadelphia.

Marcus Kuhl,
Johann Keller,
Jacob Karsdoop,
Johann Becker,
Abraham Kintzing.

From Philadelphia County. 1734 *to* 1735.

Anthony Benezet,
Abraham Zimmerman,
Christian Weber,
Martin Bitting,
Conrad Kerr,
Conrad Kuster,

Nicholas Keyser,
Anthony Zadouski,
Hans Jacob Dubre,
Hans Bingeman,
Jacob Dubre,
Andreas Kreber,
Ludwig Bitting.

From Chester County. 1734 *to* 1735.

Gerhart Braunbeck.

From Lancaster County.

Johann George Bard,
Johann Casper Stœver,
Michael Weilder,
Frederick Elberstadt,
Peter Ensminger,
Jacob Herschberger.

NO. II.

NAMES AND AGES OF THE HEADS OF FAMILIES REMAINING IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK, 1710.

Hans Wilhelm Stuckrath, 37,
Anna Wormser, 36,
Nicklaus Jung, 32,
Franz Lucas,
Mattheis Bronck, 50,
Johannes Jung, 32,
Baltzar Wenerich, 40,
Benedictus Wenerich, 32,
Anna Apolona Siegner, 44,
Johannes Planck, 43,
Hans Adam Zollner, 52,
Andreas Richter, 47,
Anna Maria Mengel, 27,
Maria Margaretha Scher, 23,
Peter Gerlach, 37,
Hieronimus Klein, 38,
Anna Catharina Erb, 44,
Magdalina Baum, 29,
Ludwig Buers, 32,
George Ludwig Leicht, 56,
Johann Heinrich Neukirch, 36
Anna Almerod, 67,
Johann Heinrich Leicht, 24,
Johann Heinrich Gossinger, 31,
Friederich Maul, 31,
Christopher Dannermarker, 28,
Anna Marg. Dannermarker, 58
Andreas Elich, 37,
Johannes Engell, 31,
Michael Paeffer, 32,
Michael Storr, 38,
Joh. Diet. Wannenmacher, 28,
Conrad Lein, 56,
Peter Appelman, 42,
Anna Maria Bender, 44,
Arnold Falck, 36,

Maria Catharina Bornwasser, Anna Kunegunde Russ, 44,
Maria Catharina Schuetz, 40, Johannes Kautz, 40,
Anna Maria Cramer, 38,
Maria Nies, 38,
Frances Bash, 40,
Susanna Beyer, 30,
Sitonia Melch, 41,
Anna Catharina Batz, 38,
Anna Eliza Rorbaal, 34,
Anna Elizabeth Schultz, 22,
Conrad Friederich, 52.
Johann Philip Greisler, 40,
Elizabeth Lampert, 47,
Maria May, 45,
George Roemer, 30,
Ulrich Simmendinger, 38,
Christian Kasselman, 36,
Johann Dietrich Schatz, 38,
Anna Elizabeth Maul, 42,
Peter Wickhaus, 32,
Veronica Zwick, 39,
Johannes Lorentz, 43,
Caspar Hartwig, 39,
Magdalena Off, 32,
Anna Eva Morrell, 48,
Michael Henneschied, 36,
Johann Peter Fuchs, 31,
Anna Maria Heid, 50,
Dieterich Fiebersbach, 21,
Christopher Werner, 35,
Johann Paul Badner, 19,
Elizabeth Mueller, 42,
Nicolaus Heisterbach, 53,
Elizabeth Noll, 66,
Appalonia Lintz, 40,
Maria Catherine Hebman, 40,
Anna Maria Sack, 30,
Johann Mattheus Keiser, 23,
Johannes Trillhauser, 23,
Bernhardt Sickard, 25,
Johann Wilhelm Schneider, 28
Valentin Bressler, 41,
Andreas Weidknecht, 40,
Johannes Baer, 40,
Melchior Dausweber, 55,
Johanna Zenger, 33,
Anna Maria Gabel, 34,
Benedictus Kuehner, 36,
Anna Elizabeth Lauch, 42,
Margaretha Schmidt, 27,
Daniel Teffer, 30,
Margaretta Messer, 50,
Maria Galete, 38,
Simon Vogt, 31,
Johann Wilhelm Felten, 30,
Hermanus Hoffman, 30,
Ludolph Korning, 50,
Bernhart Ekel, 53,
Johannes Taeuble, 38,
Catharina Mueller, 36,
Joh. Jacob Starrenberger, 45,
Johann Friederich Neff, 34,
Anna Catherina Grau, 40,
Heinrich Schmidt, 54,
Daniel Schumacher, 30.
Philip Peter Grauberger, 29,
Johannes Roschman, 33.

NO. III.

NAMES AND AGES OF MALE CHILDREN APPRENTICED BY GOVERNOR HUNTER, 1710 TO 1714.

Johann Philip Lepper, 12,
George Friedrich Weiser, 13,
Daniel Artopee Weiser, 12,
Philip Daniel Weiser, 13,
Johann Paul Denbig, 7,
Hans George Kuhns, 8,
Hans Philip Kuhns, 15,
Adam Greiner, 13,
Hans George Bær,
Joh. Ludig Trorit (Trauert), 9,
Hein. Porter (Bortner), 14,
Hans Bastian Gatian, 12,
Joh. Bernhart Ruropaw (Rorbach), 10,
Johann Conrad Otteene, ? 9,
Frederick Otteene, ? 7,
Hans George Schweitzer, 12,
Johann Conrad Petre, 12,
Peter Pfeiffer, 6,
George Kastner, 13,
Gerhardt Lamberton, 12,
Hans Gerhart Lœser, ? 10,
John Peter Zenger, 13,
Thomas Reich, 12,
Jacob Berleman, 10,
Johann Paul Schmidt, 12,
George Schneider, 15,
Joh. Con. Matheis Horner, 15,
Jacob Eysterberg, 3,
Hans Heinrich Schiltz, 8,
W. Webber, 8,
Jonah Schmidt, 10,
Johannes Schiltz, 10,
Christian Engel, 12,
Arnold Schweedt, 13,
Jacobus Brauer, 14,
Peter Lohn, ? 9,
Nicholas Dietrich, 14,
Peter De Mott, 13,
Joh. Wilhelm Schmidt, 14,
Jacob Berleman, 11,
Simon Helm, 12.

The whole number apprenticed, male and females, was 75.

NO. IV.

NAMES OF MALE PALATINES, ABOVE TWENTY-ONE YEARS OLD, IN LIVINGSTONE MANOR, N. Y., IN THE WINTER 1710, AND SUMMER 1711.

Johann Christopher Gerlach,
Peter Maurer,
Philip Mueller,
Johann George Spannheimer,
Johann Friedrich Casselmann,
Johann Lœher,
Friedrich Merkel,
George Schæffer,
Johann Adam Friedrich,
Valentine Bender,
—— Brandau,
—— Schæffer,
—— Arnold,
—— Wilhelm,
Heinrich Hoffman,
George Hœhlen,
Heinrich Scherman,
Valentine Wohlleber,
Philip Wohlleber,
Peter Wagner,
Johann Heinrich Krantz,
Johannes Straub,
Franz Keller,
Johannes Becker,
Joh. Friedrich Gantermann,
Philip Kilmer,
Heinrich Mann,
Thomas Ehrman,
Albert Friedrich Marterstock,
Conrad Martin,
Adam Hardel,
Gottfried Fidler,
Jacob Demuth,
Gottfried Riegel,
Hieronimus Scheib,
Nicholas Kerner,
—— Dietrich,
Augustine Voschell,
Peter Voschell,
Johannes Eberhard,
Peter Wohlleber,
Anthony Kremer,
Herman Hostman,
Stephen Frœhlich,
Johannes Franck,
Andreas Ross,
Joseph Reichart,
Melchior Tausweber,
Rev. Joshua Kocherthal,
Jacob Mond,
Matheus Schleimer,
George Wilhelm Kiel,
Peter Becker,
Valentine Falkenberg,
Wilhelm Mueller,
Johannes Ritzbach,
Peter Keiseler,
Johann Wilhelm Kieffer,
Johann Heinrich Schram,
Peter Egner,
John Michael Emrich,
George Heinrich Stubenrauch,
Peter Diebel,
Christian Mæyer,
Peter Oberbach,
Heinrich Mohr,
George Briegel,
Johannes Schæffer,
George Dachstædter,
Johannes Zeissdorf,
Heinrich Mayer,
Capt. Joh. Christopher Fuchs,
Johann Wilhelm Thales,
Johann Wilhelm Scheff,

—— Weiden,
Hieronimus Weller,
Johann Conrad Weiser,
Mattheus Reinbolt,
Johann Peter Dopff,
Johann Jacob Reisch,
Carl Nehr,
Heinrich Jung,
Werner Deichert,
George Mueller,
Friedrich Bellinger,
Heinrich Wiederwachs,
George Matthias,
Christopher Hagedorn,
Franz Finck,
Andreas Schuetz,
Peter Hagedorn,
Nicholas Weber,
Wilhelm George,
Friedrich Schæffer,
Anthony Ichard,
Johann Peter Lein,
Johann Jacob Munsinger,
Johannes Leyer,
Jacob Kuhn,
Heinrich Mattheis,
Nicholas Eckert,
Martin Dillenbach,
Nicholas Fœller,
Jacob Schnell,
Jacob Webber,
Wilhelm Nelles,
Johannes Geissler,
Samuel Kuhn,
Jacob Ess,
Gerhart Schæffer,
Ulrich Bruckhart,
Conrad Kuhn,
Friedrich Mentegen,
Samuel Kuhn,
Valentine Kuhn,
Heinrich Winter,
Johann George Reiffenberg,
Christian Bauch,
Peter Heidt,
Heinrich Hammer,
Michael Ittich,
Johann Keyser,
Jacob Kopp,
Paulus Dientzer,
Melchior Foltz,
Johannes Segendorff,
Philip Laux,
Abraham Langen,
Johann Jacob Schultz,
Johann Wilhelm Hambach,
Nicholas Laux,
Nicholas Gœttel,
Capt. Hartman Windecker,
Johann Wilhelm Dill,
Peter Spies,
Herman Bitzer,
Johannes Schuc,
Johann Wilhelm Schneider,
Jacob Bast (Borst),
Johannes Blass,
Johann Wilhelm Kammer,
Johannes Bonroth,
Johannes Bernhard,
Sebastian Fischer,
Nicholas Heidt,
Heinrich Klein,
Heinrich Balthaser Stuper,
Casper Rauch,
Hans Heinrich Zeller,
Johannes Zeller,
Sebastian Pisas,
Andreas Walborn,
Antonius Scharf,
Sebastian Fischer,
Christian Lauer,
Johann Adam Lesch,
George Anspach,
Ludwig Wilhelm Schmidt,
Paulus Reidkopff,
Rev. Johann Friedrich Hæger,

Johann Wilhelm Linck,
Johann Martin Netzbach,
Johannes Weiss,
Johann Adam Walborn,
Johann Heinrich Ahrndorff,
Daniel Busch,
Johann Heinrich Conradt,
Heinrich Bellinger,
Johannes Schneider,
Marcus Bellinger,
Philip Schæffer,
Johann Kraut,
Christian Sittenich,
Johann Heinrich Schmidt,
Johann Philip Zerbe,
Nicholas Ruhl,
Adam Michael Schmidt,
Conrad Meissinger,
Thomas Ruffener,
Jacob Dinges,
Heinrich Fehling,
Johann Jost Petry,
Johannes Lantz,
Lorenz Zerbe,
Peter Rieth,
Conrad Schuetz,
Joseph Saab,
George Rieth,
Gottlieb Fidler (Fitler),
Johannes Rieth,
Johann Peter Pacht,
Jacob Lœwengut,
Johannes Noœcker,
Jacob Katterman,
Johann Peter Kneskern,
Jacob Mauck,
Philip Peter Grauberger,
David Huppert,
Conrad Schauerman,
Heinrich Sechs (Sex),
Friedrich Bæll,
Jacob Kobel,
Jacob Werner,
Johannes Schultheis,
Reinhart Schæffer,
Johannes Roschman,
Carl Uhl,
Baltzer Anspach,
Conrad Keller,
Johann George Schmidt,
Conrad Goldman,
George Bender,
Johann Heinrich Uhl,
Thomas Schumacher,
Peter Schmidt,
Johannes Schwall,
George Ludwig Koch,
Veit Muesig,
George Kirchner,
Christian Hills,
Rudolph Stahl,
Gottfried Wolfen,
Leonhart Anspach,
George Zeh,
Andreas Kapp,
Johann Philip Theis,
Martin Zerbe.

NO. V.

EINWEIHUNGS-LIED.

Conrad Weiser composed the following beautiful verses, which were used at the dedication of a church:

1 Jehovah, Herr und Majestæt!
Hœr unser kindlich Flehen:
Neig deine Ohren zum Gebet
Der Schaaren, die da stehen
Vor deinem heiligen Angesicht:
Verschmæhe unsere Bitte nicht,
Um deines Namens willen.

2 Dies Haus wird heute eingeweiht
Von deinem Bundes-Volke:
Lass uns, Herr, deine Herrlichkeit
Hernieder in der Wolke,
Dass sie erfuelle dieses Haus
Und treibe alles Bœse aus,
Um deines Namens willen.

3 Es halte Niemand das gemein,
Was du fuer rein erklæret:
Dies Haus soll eine Wohnung sein,
Worin man dich verehret.
Es bleibe stets ein Heiligthum
Fuer's reine Evangelium!
Um deines Namens willen!

4 Verleihe, dass es nie gebricht
An treuen Kirchen-Ræthen,
Die nach Gewissen, Amt und Pflicht
Fuer sich und Andere beten,
Damit durch ihren Dienst und Treu
Der Kirche wohlgerathen sei,
Um deines Namens willen!

5 O Majestæt, erzuerne nicht,
Dass wir uns unterwinden,
Zu bitten, dass dein Recht und Licht
Hier stetig sei zu finden!
Drum gieb uns Lehrer, die erfuellt
Mit deinem Geist und Ebenbild,
Um deines Namens willen!

6 Wenn deine treuen Knechte hier
In deinem Namen lehren,
Wenn sie erhœhen dein Panier;
Dann lass dein Volk so hœren,
Dass sich erœffne ihr Verstand,
Ihr Wille werde umgewandt,
Um deines Namens willen!

7 Hier œffne sich der Boten Mund,
Und triefe recht vom Fette!
Er mache Fluch und Segen kund,
Und ringe in die Wette
Mit Gott und seines Geistes Kraft,
Die ihm den Weg zum Herzen schafft,
Um Jesu Christi willen!

8 Lass, Jesu, diese Quelle sein
Ein reines Meer der Gnaden,
Darinnen unsere Kindelein
Von Erb- und Suenden-Schaden
Durch dein Verdienst, Blut, Schweiss und Tod
Errettet werden aus der Noth,
Um deines Namens willen!

9 Lass, Majestæt, auf diesem Platz
Die reinste Lehre bleiben,
Und deine Knechte solchen Schatz
Nach deinem Willen treiben.
Behuete uns vor Zænkerei,
Vor Sicherheit und Heuchelei,
Um deines Namens willen!

10 Das ist und bleibet ewig wahr,
Was Christi Mund gesprochen:
Wer ab- und zuthut, hat ganz klar
Des Mittlers Wort gebrochen.
Drum irret nicht, Gott lässet sich
In solcher Sache absonderlich
Nicht in die Länge spotten!

11 Lass dieses Haus die Werkstatt sein,
Worinn viel tausend Seelen
In Buss und Glauben nur allein
Mit Jesu sich vermæhlen
Durch deines Wortes Lebens-Saft
Und deiner Sacramenten Kraft,
Um deines Namens willen!

12 Gieb endlich, hœchste Majestæt
Des Himmels und der Erden,
Dass Fuerbitt, Dank, Preis und Gebet
Mag hier geopfert werden
Fuer jeden Stand der Christenheit,
Damit in alle Ewigkeit
Dein Nam' geehret werde!

13 Vor Feuer, Krieg und Wassers-Noth
Wollst du dies Haus bewahren!
Damit nach sel'gem Tod
Die Nachkommen erfahren,
Dass wir dich, wahren Gott, geliebt
Und uns in deinem Wort geuebt,
Um deines Namens willen!

NO. VI.

The German Patriots and Martyrs.

Among the many German pioneers, who were massacred by savage cruelty between the years 1744--1763, and more especially in the district which the counties of Berks, Lebanon, Dauphin, Northampton, Carbon, Bucks, Montgomery and Lehigh now embrace, the following whose descendants still survive, may be mentioned:— Kline, Roth, Bittenbender, Schaeffer, Schweigart, Gerhart, Linderman, Spitler, Lebenguth, Maurer, Long, Trump, Yæger, Geiger, Wolf, Weisser, Mosser, Miess, Motz, Hubler, and others. The number swells beyond three hundred. Pastor Kurtz, of Tulpehocken, officiated over the mangled remains of seven victims, one morning in July, 1757. The members of the Tulpehocken congregations carried their guns and hymn books alike to the church, as weapons against wild beasts, savages and the devil. In the month of June, 1756, good Felix Wuensch was shot down behind the plough. This man deserves honorable mention at least, though we can hardly hope to have him acknowledged as the peer of General Putnam. A Rothermel might add new laurels to his chaplet, were he to set alive on canvas this German martyr-ploughman. Though wounded and staggering, he used his rude cart-whip against five giant Indians lustily, until he fell tomahawked and scalped to the earth. His wife and two little girls were cast into the burning house and perished in the flames.

The venerable Pastor Muhlenberg tells the following soul-stirring tale of woe in a pathetic style: "In New Hanover I had confirmed two grown daughters of Fred-

erick Reichelsdorfer. This man subsequently bought a tract of forest land near the Blue Mountains, which he cultivated successfully, with much toil and great sacrifice, to enable him to support his family. But fearing the Indians, who scouted the region, sacking, burning, and murdering, he removed his family back to New Hanover, whilst he journed to and fro, to attend to his place. In the month of March, after he and his daughters had threshed out his wheat, on a Friday morning, they suddenly felt an uncomfortable presentiment of fear. Entering upon their evening devotions, they joined in singing the old hymn, '*Wer weisz, wie nahe mir mein Ende.*' Committing themselves to God, they retired. On the following Saturday morning, as the father had gone upon the open field to bring in his horses, and on the eve of starting for home, he was surrounded by Indians. From sudden fright, in view of his great peril, he could neither utter a cry, nor move a limb. As the savages were within twenty paces, he turned his thoughts to God, and was enabled to cry: 'Jesus! I live by Thee! Jesus! I die in Thee!" In the moment of this exclamation, he felt himself at once endowed with a superhuman energy, in virtue of which he turned, became swift-footed as a deer, and winged, like the ostrich. He escaped from their sight, and reached his home; but, alas! his hut lay in ashes; the cattle were bellowing in a sheet of flame; his eldest daughter lay a crisp, and the younger, partly alive, scalped and horribly mutilated, had barely strength to relate the harrowing circumstances, and to impress a dying kiss upon the distracted brow of her father bending over her."

Of the German patriots and martyrs little is said in

books. Their offspring need still not, on this account, forget or ignore them. "God made of one blood, all the nations of the earth," and that blood is equally precious, whenever it is shed in a good cause.

There is hardly an old stone house, in Eastern Pennsylvania especially, that had not served the double purpose of a residence and "fort" during the Provincial era. The firmly-built house on the left bank of the Schuylkill, near Douglassville, Berks co., around which cling many reminiscences of *Conrad Weiser and the Indians, is but a sample. But withal, our forefathers were driven forth, again and again, and returning, they found the charred walls, and nothing more. Possessing their souls in patience, they rebuilt their homesteads once more, and with heavy hearts sought their captive sons and daughters among the savages—too often in vain!

Since Conrad Weiser had been an acknowledged "*Kœnig unter den Indianern*," it is easy to credit the tradition, that he effected numberless reconciliations, stayed the flow of much blood, and prevented many an impending outbreak. And bearing this reign of terror and suffering in mind, his "Letters" will become at once intelligible and interesting. They will teach us, too, whenever we read of "the days in which men's souls were tried," that the German pioneers—our ancestors—were likewise of those "days;" that they, too, had "souls," and that when "tried," they were found far from wanting. Out upon the slander, that the German

*CONRAD.—This familiar name was originally written KONRATH. The German terms, KUEHN, Keen, and RATH, counsel, are, perhaps, its best derivation. The name proved not merely conventional, but eminently significant, in both the elder and younger Conrad Weisers.

pioneers had all been Hessians! The latter, compared with the former, stand as a drop to the vast ocean. Under a parallel comparison between the English and the "Tories," we are sure of carrying off the prize. The Germanic element in our National life may be likened to a slumbering giant, just awakening. And in the measure, in which an awakening occurs, and a consciousness of its prestige, history and worth obtains, we may expect the German martyr blood to liquify afresh, and the sacrifices and sufferings of our patient forerunners to assert themselves. There will yet come a GERMAN "Forefathers' Day," The era is dawning for a forthcoming history, in which the German element will have its large and well-filled niche. This done, the poetry and romance will follow, by and by.

We had intended to collect a series of facts from Loeher's "German's in America," and still other sources, in confirmation of our declaration, when the Address delivered at the German Centennial Jubilee, in Reading, Pa., June 19, 1876, by the Hon. Daniel Ermentrout, fell under our eye. Finding the whole tale so graphically told in this masterly oration, and conceding it to be infinitely superior to any utterances which we might project upon an honored posterity, we cannot resist the temptation of presenting it entire. Let every descendant of Germanic parentage read it, and reading, rejoice over the record of our noble sires.

OUR PEOPLE IN AMERICAN HISTORY.

Oration by Hon. Daniel Ermentrout.

On the 27th of August, 1739, nearly 137 years ago, the good ship Samuel brought to the shores of Pennsylvania 340 German immigrants. Among them were three individuals—father, son and grand-son. They came to the territory now embraced within the county of Berks, here settled, begat children, and here they and their posterity have continued to live to the present time. The individual who stands before you now, bears the name and blood of those three humble men, and he is proud here, upon his native soil in this glorious year, after the lapse of all this time, to tell to those ancestors' countrymen, among them some, perhaps, whose eyes first saw the light of day in the village they were born, who rambled among the fields where their infant feet trod, who worshipped at the same altar at which they were baptized—as best he can, the story of what the German race has done to transform the howling wilderness of that date into broad and fertile acres, populous valleys and magnificent cities. What hardships from exposure, what dangers from wild beasts, and cruelties they suffered from the lurking and merciless savage; what they did to wrest this land from kingly rule, and what they have contributed towards the triumphs of peace—all combining to the building up of the vast and mighty empire now known as the United States of

North America, the hundredth year of whose freedom the German societies of this section are to-day celebrating. The heart swells and the lip trembles at the contemplation of the theme. It is a subject worthy to be treated by an abler tongue. But to no one, so far as sympathy and inclination are concerned, more pleasing.

To every American of German descent it should be an especial pleasure, as well as duty, to portray in fitting terms the deeds of his ancestors, because from a variety of causes, the historian has never done them the justice to which they are entitled. A studious effort was also made in the earlier history of this State to deprive them of the credit that was their due, and to impair their influence in its political affairs. Nor have they fared any better from the pencil of the painter.

Go to the Memorial Hall at Philadelphia, and you will there see two pictures; one by Puebla, portraying the landing of Columbus. The central figure is the great Colon himself, kneeling, dressed in the gorgeous scarlet costume of his country, surrounded by armed cavaliers in the same position; and standing erect with crucifix uplifted, a representative of the most powerful Church the world has ever seen; above him floats the standard of the nation upon whose vast dominions the sun never rose nor set, the Kingdom then ruled by Ferdinand and Isabella; while in the bushes, peering in wonder and amazement at the scene, stand the awe-struck savages. The other, by the pencil of Gisbert, represents the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers. You recognize, in the central figure, the pious pastor standing on the rock, with elevated hands and devout aspect, the beautified features of women in neat attire grace the

scene, and in the back-ground appear the masts of the Mayflower.

These pictures have immortalized the "Discovery" and the "Landing." Poetry, religion, eloquence and art, all have combined to impress these facts upon history with a grandeur and an emphasis, and to surround them with a halo which have rarely fallen to the lot of human occurrences. These people were masters of their own movements, and behind the one stood the power of Spain, and behind the other that of the English government, each speaking the language respectively of their colonists, each taking an interest and a pride in their success. The one spurred on by the pride of conquest, the other inspired by the ties of sympathy.

So, too, who has not seen the prostrate form of Smith, protected from the club of Powhatan by Pocahantas, and Penn's treaty with the Indians, glowing on the canvass. In vain we do we look for the pencilled story of the homeless, houseless, wandering exiles from Germany; their cruel voyage across the sea; their arrival among a people who understood not their language; their lonely, dangerous and difficult journey through the wilderness towards the Blue Mountains. Nor do we anywhere find pictured their evening or morning worship in the primeval forest before extending themselves around the camp fire by night, or preparing for the journey of the day. No Government speaking their language, protected them. Regarded as dangerous by the Proprietary Government of Pennsylvania as early as 1717,* they were hurried to the sections now comprised within the territory of Lancaster,

*Col. Rec., Vol. III, p 29, 228.

Berks, Northampton and Schuylkill counties—then frontiers, and frontiers up to 1768—far remote in the Indian ranges and hunting grounds, to form a cordon or defensive barrier against Indian enterprises.†

Visit your State Capitol. The faces that adorn the walls of your public buildings there during the proprietary era, rest on shoulders coated with mail. We fared no better in this respect during the Revolutionary period. In 1717 a great fear of German immigration disturbed the Proprietary Governors. This fear continued up to 1729, as the letters of James Logan, the communications of Governors Keith and Gordon to the Council and Assembly, during which period various devices were resorted to to obstruct immigration, culminating, finally, in a head tax. In 1730 the law was modified to apply only to vagrants,* but the prejudices sown in the preceding years still remained. Our ancestors did not see why, after paying for their lands and being assured by the Proprietary Government that the Indian title—the source of much of their difficulty—should be quieted, that they should be taxed by the Proprietors to protect the untaxed Proprietary property. They rebelled, and when they came down to Philadelphia, to vote for members of Assembly, they voted against the wishes of the Proprietary Government, and on Feb. 25, 1750, Thomas Penn writes to Gov. Hamilton: "I am greatly alarmed, the Germans behave so insolently at the elections; they must no doubt do so from the numbers given them at the back counties. The taking of

†Watson's Annals, Gov. Denny's Letter, Nov. 10, 1756. Archives, 1756—1760, p. 44.

*Seidensticker's Geschichte der Deutschen Gesellschaft, p. 19.

counties from Bucks and Philadelphia (Northampton and Berks) will take off their settlements and leave only two members of eight, and prevent them, for many years, from having a majority."* There can be no doubt that we have suffered much from these prejudices. The silence of history concerning the achievements of our race has also by the great American historian, Bancroft, been attributed to the "modesty" of our ancestors. He says: "Neither they nor their descendants have laid claim to all the praise that was their due."† But the hour has struck, when the children of the great Arminius, whether foreigner or native born, and of all creeds now in this land, and especially in this State, should search the records of the past and let their children know and let the world know the achievements of the race here in this Western Continent. Without malice or undue partiality, spread them in such form upon the pages of history, that their virtues may be perpetuated, a source of pride to all their blood and an example worthy to be emulated by all, to the last syllable of recorded time.

It will be impossible, with a due regard for your comfort, nor do I possess the ability to lay before you all that should be said, and for both reasons I shall be compelled to confine myself merely to our own locality in the historical portions of my discourse.

When Penn came here in 1681, he found the colonies already planted by the Teuton blood in the persons of Swedes and Dutch, dating back to 1633. Philadelphia he settled in 1681—1682. It will be remembered in

*Henry's "Lehigh Valley," p. 24.

†Kapp's Steuben, Introduction, p. 7.

this connection that William Penn himself was half Dutch by his mother. Prior to his settlement here he had made two journeys through Germany as Quaker preacher. After William Penn became the proprietor of the country named in honor of his father, he in 1681 published the paper setting forth the advantages and conditions of settlement in Pennsylvania. It was immediately translated. Germany was full of all manner of intensive religionists, among whom the Quaker preachers had obtained a foothold. These then began to become enthusiastic to lead a religious life in Pennsylvania. In 1682 a compauy was formed at Frankfort, called the Frankfort Company, for the purpose of furthering emigration to Pennsylvania and opening trade. Francis Daniel Pastorius was their agent, and he in the year 1683, with some thirteen families, came to Philadelphia and laid the foundation for the first settlement the German emigrants established in this country.* The Frankfort Company in 1686, Nov. 24, held by their Germantown patent 5,350 acres, and by the Manatawny patent 22,377 acres. In this latter patent were included lands on the Manatawny Creek, and now partly belonging to the county of Berks. From this it would appear that the country along the Manatawny in Berks was included in the first settlement after Philadelphia. Germantown remained for over one hundred years a German town. It had for a portion of this time its Burgomaster, Clerk, &c. The Seal of the Corporation was a Clover leaf, with the figures of the Vine, Hemp Flower and Weaver's Spool on the three leaves, and the legend Vinum, Linum et Textrinum, Wein Lein und Webeschrein—

*Seidensticker, p. 8. Gordon's Pennsylvania, p. 60.

types, in the language of the Historian of the German society, of the mission of the Germans in the New World. Husbandry, industry and contented enjoyment of life. Here, in 1738, was the first German printing press; here appeared the first German newspaper, and in 1743 the German quarto Bible—the first Bible printed on this Continent in an European language. The emigration up to 1702 was small, not exceeding 200 families. But when at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries, the besom of war and destruction swept over the Palatinate and Western Germany, immigration received a powerful impetus. The records of no age show the perpetration of more dreadful barbarities than those committed by the robber bands of Louis XIV. Cupidity, political ambition and religious hatred have all combined to make these years of European history as dark, bloody and cruel as those that have stained any similar period of the world's history. It seemed as if the devil had been let loose and the world given over to his evil devices. In Southern Germany, where German princes sought to ape the Court of Louis XIV. and French manners, it was no better.

If these be glory, if people deserve immortality for these, there is no page in the history of nations too bright for the German emigrants, who were by these driven from the land of their birth at the beginning of the 18th century, to find a home and an asylum here. This emigration continued up to 1720. Subsequently a desire to better their temporal concerns, brought emigration hither, and from 1725 to 1744 it began to include all sorts of religions—German Reformed, Lutheran, Roman Catholic, Moravians, Schwenkfelders,

&c. The earliest German Catholic settlement was that of Cusanhoppen in 1741. This extended into that part of Berks county known as Washington township. Its first pastor was Father Schneider, who at that early period travelled from Philadelphia through Bucks, Chester, Berks and Northampton counties, frequently on foot, in the discharge of his pastoral duties. The chapel built by him in that year has by constant additions become a very large building, with a numerous congregation. In the church now repose the bones of Father Schneider.*

Before 1738 a respectable number of Schwenkfelders also settled in parts of what is now Berks county, where many of their descendants have continued ever since. As early as 1723 Tulpehocken was settled by Germans, who left Schoharie on account of the unjust manner in which they were treated by the Governor of New York. They had come to New York in 1710, and settled at Schoharie in 1713. From the beauty of the country through which the Tulpehocken flowed, they called the settlement Heidelberg. So it is to this day, surrounded by lovely hills, Heidelberg in the county of Berks. To this day the descendants of those settlers in that region are known by their names. May 18, 1729, a letter was written to Schoharie inviting the famous Conrad Weiser to come and settle among them for their protection against the Indians, from whom difficulties were apprehended, and with whom Weiser had great influence at that date.† He come and settled near Womelsdorf. This Conrad Weiser was a remarkable man.

*Mss. Augustine Bally, Churchville, Pa., present pastor.

†Aus Berks County's Schwerer Zeit. Wollenweber—p. 8.

His fame soon reached the ears of the Government at Philadelphia; he was sent for, made Indian agent, and from the time of his coming to Berks county to the time of his death—a period of 31 years—he was the protecting genius of the Pennsylvania settlements. It is not necessary for me to tell this audience that the hardware store, north-east corner of Penn and Fifth streets, is the site of the building occupied by him for trading and other purposes. There the savages would come from many miles around to see the great pale-faced medicine man, dance their wild dances, perform their savage ceremonies and smoke the pipe of peace. He died July 13, 1760, and is buried on the farm where he dwelt. On Nov. 13, 1793, General Washington, accompanied by Gen. Joseph Hiester and other distinguished persons, stood at the grave of the German man, Conrad Weiser, and said: "This departed man, in a most difficult period, rendered many services to his country; posterity will not forget him." He was born in Alstaedt, Wurtemberg.* His descendant, Dr. C. Z. Weiser, of the Reformed Church, is now preparing his biography, a matter too long neglected.

The Tulpehocken settlement, after Braddock's defeat in 1755, was the scene of the most frightful massacres. History tells us that in one week in Tulpehocken district, at the foot of the Blue Mountains, 32 men, 21 women and 17 children, 70 souls, were murdered in the most frightful manner; 21 houses and barns burned, the cattle destroyed or carried off. Under the energetic action of Conrad Weiser and his friend Capt. Spyker, the settlers armed and the Indians were driven back. The

*Wollenweber—p. 9.

like barbarities were perpetrated in Northampton county, hundreds of the inhabitants were killed and their buildings destroyed. In Feb. 1756, they murdered, killed and burned in Albany township. Early in March they inflicted similar cruelties at a place called Conrad's Mills, in Berks county. March 24th the house of Peter Kluck, 14 miles from Reading, was set on fire, and the family, five in number, murdered. Later, in 1763, in September, about 24 miles from Reading, the settlements beyond Blue Mountains were attacked, and men, women and children killed, some scalped alive and others carried off. A few days after, the home of Franz Hubler, in Bern township, 18 miles from Reading, was attacked. He was wounded, his wife and several children carried off and three others scalped alive. There were about 200 miles of an extended frontier so exposed to the invasion of the Indians that no man could go to sleep within 10 or 15 miles of the border without the fear of having his house burned and himself and family led into captivity before the next morning. No man could tell where the Indians would strike the next blow.* These are a specimen of the dangers and hardships to which the German settlers of this section of the State were subjected. Yet history, while detailing barbarities inflicted by the merciless savages in other sections, has been so written that the children of Eastern Pennsylvania never knew of any other Indians than King Philip, Pontiac and Black Hawk. They never hear of Lieut. Col. Weiser, and it is by merest accident that they learn that among the German settlers were any who ever killed, or were killed by, Indians. Yet here were our ancestors

*Wollenweber—Gordon.

within the boundaries of this very county, exiles from their native land, in hourly and nightly peril of their lives. Liable at any moment to be shot in the field, their wives and children liable to be shot down or carried off while visiting their neighbors, liable to be awakened in the dead hour of night by savage yells, only to behold the devouring flames rolling over their barns and houses, with death from an Indian tomahawk or rifle certain to meet them at the door should they attempt to escape. And with all this they conquered, and their descendants are here to-day, many of them owning and tilling the land their ancestors fought to wrest from the Indians. Among the persons whose names have come down to us with Conrad Weiser's sons, as powerful against the Indians and Capt. Spyker already mentioned, were Dietrich Schneider and Joseph Hiester, the latter born in German Switzerland. He, with his two brothers, settled Bernville. In their many encounters with the Indians they were victorious, and impressed them with such a wholesome fear that the savages avoided the neighborhood of Bernville for a long time. Before leaving this branch of my subject, it is proper to state that in 1711, 1,000 Germans were engaged in the expedition to Quebec. That, with reference to Braddock's expedition, he himself writes, May 24, 1755, in a letter to Gov. Morris, of New York, complaining of his disappointment. "In short in every instance, but in my contract for Pennsylvania wagons, I have been deceived and met with nothing but lies and villainy."* There were few wagons in Pennsylvania owned by any but our people.

*Col. Rec., Vol. VI., p. 399.

We now approach the period of the revolution, a chapter in our history to which Germans of all creeds, whether foreign or native born, can point with pride. Our ancestors—your countrymen—knew what tyranny and oppression were. They had been driven or fled from a country whither they had been the victims and sport either of the foreign invaders or of their own rulers. They had already faced many dangers, and in spite of all, with no aid from their own country, with little, if any, from the Proprietary Government, they had maintained themselves and made the wilderness to bloom and blossom as the rose. Their moral life previously had been unexceptional. In 1730, 8th month, 14th, Rev. Jed. Andrews writes of us: "They are diligent, sober, frugal people, rarely charged with any misdemeanors. Many of them live yet in the county, have farms, and by their industry and frugal way of living, grow rich. They have the best lands in the Province."* In 1738 Gov. Thomas said of them: "I believe it may be truthfully said that the present flourishing condition of it (the Province) is in a great measure owing to the industry of these people; it is not altogether the fertility of the soil, but the number and industry of the people that makes a country flourish."† With it all they manifested a spirit of intelligent independence second to that of no race in the world's history. In 1723, rather than suffer the oppressive exactions of the Governor of New York, they had settled in Tulpehocken. As early as 1750, according to Thomas Penn's letter, they had learned to vote in a way that he denominated "*insolent.*"

*15 Hazard's Register, p. 200.

†Col. Rec., Vol. IV., p. 315.

He writes the wrong word. It was *independent.* In 1755, 400 Germans marched in an orderly and peaceable manner to Philadelphia and, in person, petitioned for the passage of just laws for protection from Indians. The Governor of the Province was then endeavoring to pass laws for raising money by a system of taxation which did not embrace the large quantities of lands then held by the Proprietaries to which they were justly opposed. The same year at an election in Reading for Sheriff, Jonas Seely, a candidate for the office, at the opening of poll had all voices in his favor, but it being reported that he was of the Governor's party, "the Germans" left him to a man and he was defeated.* In 1757, June 30th, Gov. Denny writes to the Proprietaries—"that the Berks County Militia refuse to serve under any but their own officers."†

One of the reasons why Western Pennsylvania was not settled as the East was, by our ancestors, was that those lands being claimed by Virginia, a parish tax was exacted for support of English Establishment in that State. Several Germans proposed to the Ohio Company, in whose charge they were, to take and settle with 200 families, 50,000 acres of these lands, if they could be exempt from this tax. To this, though favored by Lawrence Washington, the State of Virginia would not agree, and thus this section lost the advantages of the German emigration.** Later still in 1764 we find them memorializing the Governor and Assembly among other grievances on the inequality of representation of

*Gordon, p. 316. Weiser's Letter, Oct. 2, 1755.

†Penna. Archives, 1755-60. p. 194.

**Old Redstone, p. 24.

the counties of Lancaster, York, Cumberland, Berks and Northampton, they altogether having but 10 members, Philadelphia, Chester and Bucks sending 26.* It will thus be perceived that the spirit that makes freemen, burned brightly in the German breast when occasion required. Bancroft says, "at the commencement of the Revolution we hear *little* of them, not from their want of zeal in the good cause, but from their modesty."† Be this as it may. In the occurrences that led to the Revolutionary war the student will always find the German name. In 1765, after the passage of the obnoxious Stamp Act, to the compact agreeing to import no British goods, are found the names of the German merchants of Philadelphia, Heinrich Keppele, Sr., Heinrich Keppele, Jr., Johann Steinmetz, David Deschler, Daniel Wister, Johann Wister and others, and Heinrich Miller's paper did not conceal its disgust.** "If we do hear little of them," as Bancroft says, "we hear *from* them, there are their names." Bancroft further says, in the same book, "They kept themselves purposely in the background, leaving it to those of English origin to discuss the violation of English liberty, and to decide whether the time for giving battle had come." We think this is a grave mistake. Reasoning from the spirit they showed in the causes of emigration, their contests with the Proprietaries and their action during the Indian struggles, the Germans needed no man to tell them what was a violation of liberty. The English nation owed its existence to the Teuton race, its liberty to that blood, to the

*Gordon, p. 448.

†Kapp's Steuben, Introduction.

**Seidensticker's Geschichte, p. 227.

Saxon, the Germanic race. It was Hengist and Horsa, the Saxons, who saved the Britons from the Picts and Scots in the 5th century, and then became masters of the island itself. They and their Saxons gave to that land its Jury System, the great bulwark of liberty.*

James Logan, in a letter written in 1729, on the subject of German emigration, alludes to the exploits of our Saxon ancestors in England, where he says "the numbers from Germany at this rate will soon produce a Germany Colony here, and, perhaps, such an one as Briton once received from Saxony in the 5th century."† To say, therefore, that they left others to discuss violations of English liberty or any liberty, is contrary to their previous history and is to charge our people with stupidity and ignorance of what was transpiring under their very eyes. The record is the other way. Mr. Bancroft is not to be charged with intentional injustice toward us, for he does say in the article from which we have quoted, "But when the resolution was taken, no part of the country was more determined in its patriotism than the German counties of Pennsylvania and Virginia." The question is, did they help *to take the resolution?* "The Americans of that day who were of German birth or descent formed a large part of the population of the United States; not less than a twelfth of the whole, and, perphaps, formed even a larger portion of the insurgent people."**

In 1747 they were already three-fifths of the whole population of the State—the whole population being

*Hume, Vol. I., p. 15.

†Rupp's Berks and Lebanon Counties, p. 92.

**Bancroft.

then 200,000.* Emigration continued up to 1776. Pennsylvania was the most flourishing of the Colonies. We believe that this estimate is below the actual figures. But at all events the great majority of the citizens of Pennsylvania were, at the outbreak of the Revolution, Germans by birth or descent. They had their own newspapers. They had their churches and school houses, learned and independent ministers, and at Philadelphia a German society or Gesellschaft. To ask the world, in view of their antecedents, to believe that this majority, with these means of information, with their intelligence and character, could so restrain the impulses of their race and blood as to purposely "stand in the background," and be floated by the minority, without materially helping to take the resolution to fight, is putting an unreasonable burden on our credulity. Then we must remember that in addition to having smelled gunpowder among the Indians, there were many who were old soldiers or the descendants of soldiers, who, like Christopher Ludwig, believed, "Ohne Schwefel und Salpeter keine Freiheit" (without sulphur and saltpeter no freedom.)

The record is right on this point. In the Provincial Convention of 1774 and 1775 appear names like Schlosser, Ludwig, Christopher, Schultz, Baltzer, Gehr —the two latter from Berks county. In the Committee of Correspondence such names as Hillegas, Engel and others. In 1774 the large meeting was held at Reading, in which the people declared themselves for liberty.

The names of Germans are found in abundance in

*Gov. Thomas, April 23, 1747. Episcopal Church History in Pennsylvania, by W. S. Perry, D. D., p. 265.

all the Vigilance Committees established at that time. A pamphlet, which was printed in German in Philadelphia in 1775, is a most important piece of evidence. It is entitled "Message of the Evangelical Lutheran and Reformed Church Consistory and of the officers of the German Association in Philadelphia, to the German inhabitants of the Provinces of New York and North Carolina." It demonstrates that the Germans had arrayed themselves already on the side of freedom, and needed no instructions on that point. It says, "We have from time to time daily with our eyes seen that the people of Pennsylvania generally, rich and poor, approve of the conclusions of Congress; 'especially have the Germans of Pennsylvania, near and far from us, distinguished themselves, and not only established their militia, but have formed picked corps of rangers, who are ready to march wherever it may be required,' and those among the Germans, who cannot serve personally, are throughout willing to contribute according to their means to the common good." The pamphlet was one of 40 pages and is an exhaustive statement of the question. It ends with this significant sentence, "By order of the assembled members of the Evangelical Lutheran and Reformed Church Consistory and of the authorities of the German Society." It is signed by Ludwig Weis, who was chairman of the committee.*

Here, then, was the expressed thought of organized societies, the mouth-pieces of the Germans, as early as August 1775, which could not have been the growth of a few months. Why did the Continental Congress so soon and so unhesitatingly seek to utilize the Germans?

*Seidensticker, p. 227.

Why was it so easy to obtain soldiers in the German counties, if the Germans had not thought of the issue and helped to make it before the call came? May 25, 1776, Congress resolved to create a German Regiment, four Companies from Maryland and four from Pennsylvania. By July 17th, Pennsylvania had raised her four and an additional one, which was commanded by Geo. Woepper, an old German soldier, who had served under Washington in numerous campaigns. Washington most urgently recommended him to Congress as a reliable man. Among the officers appear such names as Hansagger, Burckhard, Rollwagen, Lora, Hubley, Boyer, Schaeffer, Kotz, Weiser, Bower, Yeiser. On July 4th, 1776, the day the Declaration was proclaimed, a meeting was held of the officers and privates of 53 Battalions of Associators of the Colony of Pennsylvania at Lancaster —Berks, Bucks, Lancaster, York and Northampton counties were represented by Germans. Here they are from Berks—Levan, Hiester (of these there were three, Joseph, John and Daniel, who were an enduring name in the Revolution), Lindermuth, Lœffler, Kremer, Lutz, Muller, Keim, Hartman, Filbert, Wenrich, Spohn, Moser, Seltzer and the like.*

In July, 1775, Capt. George Nagle enlisted a Company of Volunteers at Reading, marched with them to Boston, where they arrived a month later, served there until the surrender or evacuation of Boston, from thence were sent to defend New York, and participated in all the battles up to their discharge in July, 1776. Capt. Nagle was afterwards Lieutenant Colonel of the 9th Penna. Regiment. Berks county had seven Battalions

*Rupp's Berks County.

in the war. At the last battle of Long Island, three Battalions captured by the Hessians were mostly Germans from Pennsylvania. Lancaster county furnished nine complete Regiments. After all the young men had left Reading for the Army, the old men—eighty in number—formed a new Company. Their Captain was 97, and the drummer 84 years of age.* Our people were at Trenton, Princeton, Long Island, Brandywine, and Germantown.†

There can be no question that throughout the war the German emigrant and his descendants gave abundant proof that the blood which centuries before had, under the great Herrman, in the forests of German, almost before the birth of Christ, broken the mighty power of Rome; which in later years built up the powerful German empire, afterwards disrupted, but the fragments of which we now in our day, after one of the greatest wars of modern times, after the lapse of ages, have seen gathered together under one banner and one sovereign—still flowed in their veins. On every hillside they drew their swords in defence of liberty, under the ensign of the young Republic. On every battle field they baptized their devotion in their own blood with a patriotism surpassed by soldiers of no race. They toiled and suffered on the march, on the field, in the roar of battle—they died that the nation might live. I cannot close this part of my discourse with making again green with grateful tribute the graves of the gallant Steuben and DeKalb, and endeavoring this day to raise in your hearts new monuments to their memory. To them we owe much.

*Force's Records.

†Seidensticker.

The one had learned the art of war under Frederick the Great, the other under Marshall Saxe. The latter, after years of the most useful and tiresome service, fell on the bloody field of Camden, pierced with eleven wounds, regretted by friend and foe, who watched with tenderest concern by his bedside till life had fled. Soldier to the last, his thoughts were of his brave comrades, and before expiring he charged his adjutant to give them "thanks for their valor, and bid them an affectionate farewell." Native born citizens of America, you who at times have suffered yourselves to be banded together oath bound, in imitation of the British tyrants of colonial times, to obstruct and hinder those political rights of aliens which you have now guaranteed by law to the negro, what had this gallant German to gain by coming to the wilds of America? He left position, promise of preferment, everything that could dazzle the mind of a soldier, or gratify an honorable ambition. He left the society of a charming and lovely wife to whom he was devoted, the quiet of a home he yearned for, and met death at the hands of an enemy with whom he had no quarrel, that you and I and our descendants forever might be free in our civil rights, our political rights, and that we might without prejudice to either, worship God according to the dictates of our own conscience. Gabriel's trump alone can summon the unknown and forgotten Germans, who in that eventful period died martyrs to the sacred cause of freedom, whom some of you would again crucify in their countrymen. And what was the spirit of Steuben? Listen to his letter to Congress, Dec. 1777: "Honorable gentlemen—The honor of seeing a nation engaged in the noble enterprise

of defending its right and liberties, was the motive that brought me to this continent. I ask neither riches nor titles. I am come here from the remotest end of Germany at my own expense. I should willingly purchase at the expense of my blood the honor of having my name enrolled among those of the defenders of your liberty.*

To Gen. Washington he says, "I shall only add that the object of my greatest ambition is to render your country all the services in my power, and *to deserve the title of a citizen of America by fighting for the cause of your liberty.*"†

Well did he fulfill his pledge. He brought order out of chaos. He created our Regular Army. He taught them manœuvres. He introduced into the Army such a system of drills, inspections and reports as enabled our raw militia to combat successfully with the British Regulars, and saved the treasury $600,000. He made the American infantry equal to the best troops of the time. The system he laid down continued to be the only one known to the American army for a long time, with such modifications as the great wars of the French revolution introduced. Unlike DeKalb, he lived to see the struggling colonies become free and independent States. He himself became an honored citizen of New York, living upon a tract of land in Oneida county, near the present Utica. In 1794, full of years and honors, he died and was laid to rest under a hemlock tree near his residence. On the very spot a public road was afterwards laid out and the old warrior's coffin

*Journals of Congress, XIII., p. 114.

†Sparks, Wash. Writings, Vol. V., p. 28.

was exposed. By the hands of some affectionate friends it was removed to a neighboring hillside and covered by a simple slab, upon which appears the name "Steuben." Underneath rests all that is mortal of that brave German man who, having served abroad in seven campaigns for two and twenty years, gave his mature experience to the cause of American liberty. He ranked next to Washington and Greene, the great Generals of the Revolution."*

But it was not only in warlike services that our people distinguished themselves. They enjoyed Washington's confidence to a marked degree. He was never deceived by them, and he knew that his appeals for aid were never in vain. The granaries and wagons and storehouses of the German farmers of Pennsylvania could not be supplied from any other source; the were indispensible to the cause. Reading was head-quarters for military stores. The log house, southwest corner of Sixth and Franklin streets, was an old granary. But it did not stop here. The gold and silver which these frugal people had gathered by years of previous industry, was cheerfully yielded up for public use. At Washington's request nine citizens of Pennsylvania gave their personal bonds to pay in gold and silver £21,000, over $100,000, for provisions to supply the Army of Liberty. I give you their names—Michael Hillegass, John Steinmetz, Abraham Bickley, Joseph Bleivor, Henry Keppel, Fred. C. Hassenclever, Isaac Melcher, John Schaeffer, Andrew Doz. Is there any doubt of their ancestry? During the whole period of the war, Michael Hillegass was the Treasurer of the United States. I must not for-

*Kapp's Steuben. Green's DeKalb and Steuben.

get in this connection Washington's "honest friend," Christopher Ludwig. He spent of his time and money. In the convention, at which Gov. Mifflin proposed a subscription for the purchase of arms, when discouraging voices were heard, the old soldier arose and said, "Mr. President, I am only a poor gingerbread baker, but write down for me £200." This closed the debate. He was a man of immense influence, he always could rally the Germans, and always did so. He also believed that "a false weight was an abomination to the Lord," for when Washington told him that he simply wished to have a pound of bread for a pound of flour, the old man said, "no, you shall have 135 lbs."* Christopher Ludwig should be canonized and made the Patron Saint of the bakers of the land. These are a sample of the deeds of the Germans in the Revolution; and the records and traditions of the times, scattered throughout Eastern Pennsylvania and the valley of Virginia, abound with similar examples; so that it cannot be truthfully denied that in everything that contributed to the independence of America, the German men stood second to none! Truthfully indeed has Bancroft said: "Neither they nor their descendants have laid claim to all the praise that was their due."

The second war of the Revolution, that of 1812, is so recent that there are so many persons still living who can bear testimony to the patriotism of the citizens of Eastern Pennsylvania, that it is a waste of time to dwell upon it. Suffice it to say that when it occurred, Simon Snyder, a Pennsylvania German, occupied the Gubernatorial chair in this State.

*Rupp. Seidensticker.

In the civil war that burst upon the land in 1861, on both sides of the conflict foreign Germans and descendants of Germans of every creed, ably maintained the reputation of German valor. 80,000 Germans fought on the Union side. How many on the Confederate side, we have not had time to ascertain. On the Union side we have such names, foreign and native, as Schimmelpfennig, Siegel, Rosecrans, and a host of others. To detail them, rank and file, is to write a large page of your country's glory. Amongst the Confederates we recognize such names as Zollicoffer, Imboden, Deshler, Yerger and others. If their names were written out, many books would not contain them, and looking over the roll we would be very forcibly reminded of Rupp's 30,000 names of German Immigrants to Pennsylvania. We have yet to learn that the laurels their countrymen and ancestors had won in many a well contested field in Europe, in the Indian wars, the Revolution, 1812, and Mexico, suffered through them. So far as money was concerned, the German counties of Pennsylvania did their full share; but here the subject becomes too extensive, nor is it necessary to dwell up on it in view of the fact that thousands of the survivors of that war are to be found in every part of the land. We must also bear this in mind—that the Eastern counties of Pennsylvania have been a hive from which, since the Revolution, year after year swarms of Pennsylvania Germans with plow, and axe, and wagon have penetrated into every county of Pennsylvania, in some instances actually capturing by arts of peace as Hengist and Horsa, their Saxon ancestors, did by arms from the Britons, the lands from the descendants of the original settlers; for in-

stance, Franklin county, which was settled, we believe, by Scotch-Irish. They have migrated East, West, North and South; so that it is not possible for one to go to any section of the country, even to the remotest, that you are not certain to find a Pennsylvania German or his descendants; so, too, with the countrymen of his ancestors, so that, were we to undertake to write or speak all that might be said, we would be writing the greater part of our country's prosperity and history.

Their influence on politics, commerce, trade and American civilization is beyond the power of any one man fully to comprehend or portray. If you will examine the Roll of Constitutional Conventions held in this State, beginning with that of 1776 down, you everywhere find the German name. If you will look into the Records of Political Conventions of both parties, national or otherwise, there they are again. Take up the Roll of your National Congress at this day, there you will find them. The records of your own State Legislature, you will find them there. And in all these bodies, past and present, you will in vain look for minds more able, counsellors more active or sagacious, hearts more upright, and records freer from taint even in this day and generation, when investigations are so rife. Most conspicuous among these are the names of Allen Thurman, U. S. Senator from Ohio, and Thomas A. Hendricks, ex-United States Senator and present Governor of Indiana—both of them prominent candidates for Presidential nomination in this Centennial year, Both bearing German names and well maintaining its honors. Indiana and Ohio have been largely settled by immigration from the German counties of Pennsylvania.

To look back to the administrations of German Governors of this State, is to look upon green spots in its history. Nowhere do we find any more creditable than those of Snyder, Hiester, Schulze, Wolf, Ritner or Shunk. Well have they guarded the honor, the dignity and the treasury of the State, and indelibly have they left their mark upon her institutions. It was under George Wolf, the son of a plain German emigrant, and mainly by his untiring efforts and perseverance that the free school system was finally established in this State. Politicians, to subserve miserable party purposes, and to open an avenue to gorge themselves with public plunder, have lately gotten into the habit of clamoring for more guarantees for its safety. Absurd assumption, that sees danger where none is menaced! They call it the bulwark of the American Republic. Let these tricksters remember that the son of a German emigrant stood upon the outermost citadel. Let them remember that its safety is better guaranteed by German integrity, German intellect and German firmness, than by their windy resolutions. We wish also to remind you that it was nothing but the treachery of his supporters that interfered with putting at the head of the Presidential ticket of one of the great parties of the country the name of a German, the gentleman who so quietly and unostentatiously administers the office of Governor of this Commonwealth.

Take up the educational department, your colleges and universities in this State. You there find the German coming up to the full measure of his well established fame. In the pulpit of every religious denomination for which Germans have any attachment, their

priests and pastors are as liberal, pious and learned as any that can be found. At the bar and on the bench and rostrum you will find them by scores, honored, able and diligent. Frederick Smith, a native of this county, attained to the dignity of the Supreme bench in our State. He was a grandson of one of the first pastors of the Lutheran church, corner of 6th and Washington streets, and father of Hon. Henry W. Smith. It is a notable fact that on our own bench, two law judges of pure German origin—Judges Hagenman and Sassaman —are flanked on either side by two Associate Judges— Buskirk and Bruckman—in whose veins flows the blood of the Netherlands. Their names will be found in the records of the Thirty Years' War. Your Congressmen and Senators, with very few exceptions, have been of the same stock, Hiesters, Snyders, Ritters, Keim, Muhlenberg, Getz, and have held up their heads with the best, they were descendants of the very earliest settlers distinguished in the Indian and revolutionary wars. Your present Congressman has the blood of the old Indian fighters of Bernville. So, too, with your State Legislatures, your banking institutions. Everywhere you will find them.

We count a Professor—Joseph Leidy—since the death of Agassiz, at the head of Natural Science. In medicine a Professor Gross, of world-wide reputation. In art, P. F. Rothermel, of Berks county stock, we believe, whose pencil will make forever live the battle scenes of Gettysburg. May we not express the hope that his genius will some day immortalize the German emigrant of the early day. Indeed, the names of those who occupy the leading places in society, places of trust

and business, if collected, would read like the muster roll of a German regiment of Frederick the Great, the Emperor William, or any other German King, with here and there a foreign name which would represent the soldiers of fortune, whom we find in the ranks of every great army.

If we cast our eyes in the direction of great commercial enterprises, we will find the German blood asserting its equality with the best. John W. Garret, the great railroad man of the Baltimore and Ohio, Frank Gowen of the Philadelphia and Reading, have in them the blood of Germans from Eastern Pennsylvania—two railroad presidents whose names have never been connected with improper practices in legislation. But David Deshler, bearing a name frequently occurring in the earliest records of Eastern Pennsylvania, from whence he emigrated to the State of Alabama, was the only man of whom we know, that ever owned a whole railraad, lock, stock and barrel. It was the first railroad west of the Alleghenies, 1834 and 1835. It ran from Decatur to Tuscumbia, was forty-two miles in length and known as the Tuscumbia and Decatur Railroad. It is now part of the Memphis and Charleston Road. He was, besides, prominent in the political councils of the State. Gen. Deshler, before mentioned as distinguished in the Confederate army, was of his family. His blood relatives are numerous in the South and in Eastern Pennsylvania, mainly in Lehigh county. In this connection we must not omit the name of Jacob Yoder, of Reading, who was the first white man to float a flat boat down the Mississippi. This was in 1782. He died at Louisville, Kentucky, and is there buried.

Fred. Graff, a descendant of one of the earliest settlers, constructed the Fairmount water works. The public buildings of Eastern Pennsylvania, outside of Philadelphia, we are speaking of now; her churches, her court houses, her school houses and their appointments are the first in the State, and in point of size, architectural and decorative beauty, those built by the German stock surpass by far those of other races. It is not necessary for me to speak of the advance of the race in agriculture here in the centre of the garden spot of Pennsylvania. What God and German industry have done for the country in this respect, neither the pen of the poet, the pencil of the painter, nor the tongue of the orator can portray.

We must not forget, also, to pay a just tribute to workingmen of German blood in this land. Their humble, continuous, productive industry under free institutions, like the streams in the bowels of the earth flowing silently on till they mingle together a mighty ocean, upon which the world's rich argosies sail, have contributed to place the country's prosperity upon an enduring basis. In their case, as it ever must, frugality, good habits, energy and prudence have met their usual reward in a greater self-respect, comfort, independence and the confidence and respect of the community. May the day not long be delayed when God will grant the country wisdom to found such a policy as will entirely restore the industries of the country, and may the day never dawn when oppression and unjust laws will deprive labor of its just reward.

Thus have I, the American descendant of a German emigrant, as best I could, out of a great mass of material,

endeavored to tell the story of the German in this land.* I know there are many omissions; the future and others must supply them. I have sought to decry no race. With feelings of honest pride and profound pleasure have I endeavored to set before his descendants and his countrymen, in such a way as to deserve willing recognition, the great and useful services that he has rendered since 1684, towards making the Grand Exposition now open at Philadelphia possible. You, gentlemen of the societies, under whose auspices this celebration has been held, find ample reasons in the past records of our race for a German celebration of the Centennial anniversary. This county of Berks, teeming with memories of the dangers, trials, hardships, sufferings, lives and deaths of the German settlers, is a most fitting place for the celebration. I cannot refrain here from pointing to the fact that the first township in the State to fill the quota called for by the Centennial managers, was that of Heidelberg, the region of country first settled by Germans near the grave of Conrad Weiser.

The record proves that wherever placed, we are abreast of any race in history. That the German has done his full share and as much as any other race towards the greatness, wealth, prosperity and everything

*It is with great pleasure I acknowledge my obligations to George De B. Keim, Esq., Solicitor General of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad and Vice President of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, for much useful information and important data. He is a native of Reading, to which place his ancestor, Nicholas Keim, came from Oley township. The family owned for many years the White Store, built by Conrad Weiser, of which mention is made in the Address. The name of the family has been inseparably connected with the history of Berks county from its first settlement to the present day.—D. E.

else that goes to the building up of the State. Because that record is right, I desire to rebuke those persons who, by changing their names, have sought to conceal their origin, or who from any motive deny their German ancestry. They are worse than barbarians. A German name here is a mark of nobility—a title of honor.

I desire to draw attention to those virtues of moderation, frugality and industry that made your State so prosperous, and to tell my fellow citizens that if we would restore and maintain the individual and solid prosperity of former days, we must progress backward from this cursed modern extravagance, undue desire to grow rich and live without working, to German housekeeping.

That if we wish to preserve the commercial credit of the people, the honor and dignity of the State, and remove grievous burdens from the back of the tax-payer, we must progress backward to German integrity and the purity of the early German administrations of the State.

I desire to encourage among children and young men a feeling of pride in their German ancestry, a desire to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with their history to the end, that they may be inspired to like virtues for the good of their fellowmen and the State. Unlike Alexander, there are worlds yet for German blood and brain, and energy, and valor to conquer. There are heights yet on which we must plant the German banner. Honors in every walk in life to which we must attach the German name. We must yield to no race under the sun. To this end we must become imbued with that deep respect for religion that is so characteristic of our German ancestry of every denomination or

creed; we must cultivate their virtues, we must study the language and institutions, and respect the laws of the country. If the laws are not right, we must change them. With liberty for our watchword, we must give notice to the world that the German race here on this Western Continent will not permit or countenance any measures that interfere with a man's rights of conscience, that every man shall have the right to pursue any honorable calling and to worship God in any form of religion without prejudice to his civil or political rights. In other words, let the world know that the blood of the German race is to-day what it was in the forests of Germany before Europe knew what liberty was—*free*—that they are now in favor of Constitutional Liberty, and are determined that this shall be in deed the land of freedom, restrained only by law. May we not then hope that the career now opening upon the German race at home and abroad will be *the* page in the world's history, and that their descendants for untold cycles will meet century after century as we do this day, to celebrate deeds of *German liberty, German valor, German patriotism, German virtue in American History.*

NO. VII.

An Authentic Autobiography of Conrad Weiser.

[Among the several copies of Conrad Weiser's "Manuscript Autobiography," which are with his descendants, some are imperfect, and others are incorrect, in consequence of wrong translation, misconception, and carelessness. We will present a reprint of the fullest and most reliable narrative, from his own hand. The original is still in the possession of Isaac Womelsdorf, of Womelsdorf, Pa., and has been translated for the "Collections of the Pennsylvania Historical Society," by Dr. H. H. Muhlenberg, of Reading, who has kindly granted us the use of his labor. It has been the author's misfortune to have secured it at too late a stage of this work, to assign it a more conspicuous place. It may serve, we trust, to throw an additional and truer light on some of the earlier written pages, as well as to supplant or correct the spurious specimens extant.]

In the year 1696, on the 2d of November, I, Conrad Weiser, was born in Europe, in the land of Wuertemberg, in the county (Amt) of Herrenburg, the village is called Astael, and was christened at Kupingen, near by, as my father has informed me. I say, I was born on the second of November, sixteen hundred and ninety-six. My father's name was John Conrad Weiser, my mother's name was Anna Magdalena, her family name was Uebele. My grand-father was Jacob Weiser, my great-grand-father also Jacob Weiser. He was magistrate (Schultheiss) in the village of Great Aspach, in the county (Amt) of Backnang, also in the land of Wuer-

temberg. In this latter village my ancestors from time immemorial were born, and are buried there as well on my father's as my mother's side. In the year 1709, my mother passed into eternity on the last day of May, in the 43d year of her age, while pregnant with her sixteenth child, leaving children, Catrina, Margareta, Magdalena, Sabina, Conrad, George Frederick, Christopher, Barbara, John Frederick, and was buried there by the side of my ancestors. She was a woman fearing God, and much beloved by her neighbors. Her motto was, "Jesus Christ, I live for you, I die for you, thine am I in life and death."

In the year above mentioned, namely in 1709, my father moved away from Great Aspach on the 24th of June, and took eight children with him. My eldest sister, Catrina, remained there with her husband, Conrad Boss, with whom she had two children. My father sold them his house, fields, meadows, vineyard and garden, but they could only pay him 75 gulden, the remainder, 600 gulden, was to be paid to my father at a subsequent period, which was never done, so it was made a present to them. In about two months we reached London in England, along with several thousand Germans whom Queen Ann, of glorious remembrance, had taken in charge, and was furnishing with food. About Christmas day we embarked, and ten ship loads with about 4,000 souls were sent to America.

On the 13th of June, 1710, we came to anchor at New York in North America, and in the same autumn were taken to Livingston's Manor at the expense of the Queen. Here in Livingston's, or as it was called by the Germans Lœwenstein's Manor, we were to burn

tar, and cultivate hemp, to repay the expenses incurred by the Queen in bringing us from Holland to England, and from England to New York. We were directed by several commissioners, viz., John Cast, Henry Meyer, Richard Seykott, who were put in authority over us by Robert Hunter, Governor of New York. But neither object succeeded, and in the year 1713 the people were discharged from their engagements and declared free. Then the people scattered themselves over the whole Province of New York. Many remained where they were. About 150 families determined to remove to Schochary (a place about forty English miles to the west of Albany.) They therefore sent deputies to the land of the Maquas to consult with the Indians about it, who allowed them to occupy Schochary. For the Indian deputies who were in England at the time the German people were lying in tents on the Blackmoor, had made a present to Queen Ann of this Schochary, that she might settle these people upon it. Indian guides were sent to show the Germans where Schochary was. My father was the first of the German deputies.

In November, 1713, when the above mentioned deputies had returned from the Maqua country to Livingston's Manor, the people moved the same autumn to Albany and Schenectady, so as to be able to move in the spring to Schochary. Bread was very dear, but the people worked very hard for a living, and the old settlers were very kind and did much good to the Germans, although some of a different disposition were not wanting. My father reached Schenectady the same fall, where he remained with his family over winter with a man named John Meyndert.

A chief of the Maqua nation named Quaynant visited my father, and they agreed that I should go with Quaynant into his country to learn the Maqua language. I accompanied him and reached the Maqua country in the latter end of November and lived with the Indians: here I suffered much from the excessive cold, for I was but badly clothed, and towards spring also from hunger, for the Indians had nothing to eat. A bushel of Indian corn was worth five to six shillings. And at this period the Indians, when drunk, were so barbarous, that I was frequently obliged to hide from drunken Indians.

1714. In the spring my father removed from Schenectady to Schochary, with about 150 families in great poverty. One borrowed a horse here, another there, also a cow and plow harness. With these things they united and broke up jointly so much land that they raised nearly enough corn for their own consumption the following year. But this year they suffered much from hunger, and made many meals on the wild potatoes and ground beans which grew in great abundance at that place. The Indians called the potatoes *Ochna-nada*, the ground beans *Otach-ragara*. When we wished for meal, we had to travel 35 to 40 miles to get it, and had then to borrow it on credit. They would get a bushel of wheat here, a couple at another place, and were often absent from home three or four days before they could reach their suffering wives and children crying for bread.

The people had settled in villages, of which there were seven. The first and nearest, Schenectady, was called Kneskern-dorf; 2. Gerlacho-dorf; 3. Fuchsendorf; 4. Hans George Schmidts-dorf; 5. Weisers-dorf, or Brunnen-dorf; 6. Hartman's-dorf; 7. Ober Weisers-

dorf. So named after the deputies who were sent from Livingston's manor to the Maqua country.

Towards the end of July I returned from among the Indians to my father, and had made considerable progress, or had learned the greater part of the Maqua language. An english mile from my father's house there lived several Maqua families, and there were always Maquas among us hunting, so that there was always something for me to do in interpreting, but without pay. There was no one else to be found among our people who understood the language, so that I gradually became completely master of the language, so far as my years and other circumstances permitted.

Here now this people lived peaceably for several years without preachers or magistrates. Each one did as he thought proper. About this time I became very sick and expected to die, and was willing to die, for my stepmother was indeed a stepmother to me. By her influence my father treated me very harshly; I had no other friend, and had to bear hunger and cold. I often thought of running away, but the sickness mentioned put a bit in my mouth; I was bound as if by a rope to remain with my father to obey him.

I have already mentioned that my father was a widower when he left Germany, and landed in 1710 with eight children, in New York, where my two brothers, George Frederick and Christopher, were bound by the Governor, with my then sick father's consent, over to Long Island. The following winter my youngest brother, John Frederick, died in the sixth year of his age, and was buried in Livingston's *bush*, as the

expression then was, and was the first one buried where now the Reformed Church in Weisers-dorf stands.

In the year 1711 my father married my stepmother, whom I have mentioned above. It was an unhappy match, and was the cause of my brothers and sisters all becoming scattered. At last I was the only one left at home, except the three children he had by my stepmother, viz., John Frederick, Jacob and Rebecca. Everything went crab-fashion; one misfortune after another happened to our family, of which I always was partaker. I frequently did not know where to turn, and learned to pray to God, and his word became my most agreeable reading.

But to return to Schochary. The people had taken possession without informing the Governor of New York, who, after letting them know his dissatisfaction, sold the land to seven rich merchants, four of whom lived in Albany, the other three in New York. The names of those in Albany were Myndert Shyller, John Shyller, Robert Livingston, Peter Van Brugken; of those in New York were George Clerk, at that time Secretary, Doctor Stadts, Rip Van Dam. Upon this a great uproar arose in Schochary and Albany, because many persons in Albany wished the poor people to retain their lands. The people of Schochary divided into two parties; the strongest did not wish to obey, but to keep the land, and therefore sent deputies to England to obtain a grant from George the first, not only for Schochary, but for more land in addition. But the plans did not succeed according to their wishes, for in the first place the deputies had to leave secretly and embarked at Philadelphia in 1718. As soon as they got

to sea they fell into the hands of pirates, who robbed them as well as the crew of their money, but then let them free.

My father, who was one of the deputies, was three times tied up and flogged, but would not confess to having money; finally William Scheff, the other deputy, said to the pirates, this man and I have a purse in common, and I have already given it to you, he has nothing to give you; upon which they let him go free. The ship had to put into Boston to purchase necessaries for the crew and passengers, in place of those taken by the pirates. When they reached England, they found times had changed, and that there was no longer a Queen Anne on the throne. They still found some of the old friends and advocates of the Germans, among whom were the Chaplains at the King's German Chapel, Messrs. Bœhn and Roberts, who did all in their power. The affairs of the deputies finally reached the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, and the Governor of New York, Robert Hunter, was called home. In the meanwhile, the deputies got into debt; Walrath, the third deputy, became homesick, and embarked on a vessel bound to New York, but died at sea. The other two were thrown into prison; they wrote in time for money, but owing to the ignorance and over-confidence of the persons who had the money to transmit which the people had collected, it reached England very slowly. In the meanwhile, Robert Hunter had arrived in England, had arranged the sale of the Schochary lands in his own way, before the Board of Trade and Plantations. The opposite party was in prison, without friends or money. Finally, when a bill of exchange for seventy pounds sterling arrived, they

were released from prison, petitioned anew, and in the end got an order to the newly arrived Governor of New York, William Burnet, to grant vacant land to the Germans who had been sent to New York by the deceased Queen Anne.

Towards the end of the year 1720, this William Burnet arrived in New York. In the commencement of the year 1721, I was sent to New York with a petition to Governor Burnet. He appeared friendly, and stated what kind of an order from the Lords of Trade and Plantations he brought with him, which he was resolved to comply with, but deputies were yet in England, not content with the decision, but could get nothing more done. In the last named year, viz., 1721, William Scheff returned home, having quarrelled with my father; they both had hard heads. At last, in the month of November, 1723, my father also returned. Scheff died six weeks after his return.

Governor Burnet gave patents for land to the few who were willing to settle in the Maqua country, namely, in Stony Arabia, and above the falls, but none on the river as the people hoped. They therefore scattered, the larger part removed to the Maqua country or remained in Schochary, and bought the land from the before-named rich men.

The people got news of the land on *Suataro* and *Tulpehocken*, in Pennsylvania; many of them united and cut a road from Schochary to the Susquehanna river, carried their goods there, and made canoes, and floated down the river to the mouth of the Suataro creek, and drove their cattle over land. This happened in the year 1723. From there they came to Tulpe-

hocken, and this was the origin of Tulpehocken settlement. Others followed this party and settled there, at first, also, without the permission of the Proprietary of Pennsylvania or his Commissioners; also against the consent of the Indians, from whom the land had not yet been purchased. There was no one among the people to govern them, each one did as he pleased, and their obstinacy has stood in their way ever since. Here I will leave them for a time, and describe my own circumstances.

In 1720, while my father was in England, I married my Ann Eve, and was given her in marriage, by the Rev. John Frederick Heger, Reformed clergyman, on the 22d of November, in my father's house in Schochary.

In 1722, the 7th of September, my son Philip was born, and was baptized by John Bernhard von Duehren, Lutheran clergyman; his sponsors were Philip Brown and wife.

The 13th of January, 1725, my daughter Anna Madlina was born; was baptized by J[illegible]n Jacob Œhl, Reformed clergyman; her sponsors were Christian Bouch, Junior, and my sister Barbara.

In 1727, my daughter Maria was born on the 24th of June, and was baptized by William Christopher Birkenmeyer, Lutheran clergyman. Her sponsors were Nisklas Feg and wife.

In 1728, December 24th, my son Frederick was born; was baptized by John Bernhart von Duehren, Lutheran clergyman; his sponsors were Nicklas Feg and wife.

These four were born to me at Schochary. *After-*

wards, namely, in 1729, *I removed to Pennsylvania,* and settled in Tulpehocken, where the following children were born to me, namely:

1730, the 27th of February, my son Peter was born, and in 1731, the 15th of February, I had two sons born, who were called Christopher and Jacob; the first lived 15 weeks, the latter 13 weeks, when they were released from the evils of this world and taken to a happy eternity.

1732, June 19th, my daughter Elizabeth was born.

1734, the 28th of January, my daughter Margaret was born.

The 23d of April, 1735, my son Samuel was born.

The 18th of July, 1736, I had again a son born to me. I called him Benjamin; when he was three months old, the care of the Almighty God took him away; the same year my daughter Elizabeth followed him. A merciful God will give them all to me again, to the honor of his glory.

The 11th of August, 1740, another son was born; I called his name Jabez. The mercy of God removed him from the evil of these days when he was 17 days old.

The 27th of February, 1742, another daughter was born; I called her name Hanna; the following 11th August she went into a happy eternity.

The 16th of March of this year my dear daughter Madlina went from time to eternity, through an easy death, after a long and tedious illness. Her faith, consolation, and refuge was in the crucified Saviour, Jesus Christ, whom she had vowed herself to in days of health, with soul and body.

The 12th of Aug., 1744, my son Benjamin was born.

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